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# **East Europe Report**

**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**No. 1970**



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GDR WRITERS' CRITICAL VIEWS AT BERLIN 'PEACE MEETING' REPORTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 5 Jan 82 p 9

[Current Affairs' feature article: "To Declare War On the Lie, That Is What Matters -- Four Comments by GDR Writers at the 'Berlin Meeting for the Promotion of Peace,' Unpublicized in the GDR"]

[Text] If the SED leadership were to take stock today of the "Berlin Meeting for the Promotion of Peace" with writers and scientists from East and West -- a meeting inspired by the East Berlin writer and upper-middle-class, old-style communist Stephan Hermlin, and also organized by him alone with the blessing of Erich Honecker, whom Hermlin admires and holds in high esteem -- the internal arguments for and against the meeting would probably be even more heated than before the event. Involved here are the incalculable consequences for GDR domestic policy. The critics of this undertaking can point to the fact that the feared spread to the GDR of the Western "peace movement" -- which is spontaneous, multifaceted and attractive to young people -- has now actually happened. The SED's security experts had wanted to prevent this spread or at least limit it to easily controllable church circles. Now that the "Berlin Meeting" has been held, this is no longer possible. Nor can the infection be made to retreat by means of threats like those made by Politburo official Werner Walde. At the Third SED Central Committee Plenum in late November, Walde, an SED Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Cottbus SED Bezirk Directorate, had made the following remarks: "Nor will the enemy have any chance to use its phrase referring to the so-called social 'peace service' to protest the necessary military strengthening of socialism, no matter who may call for such actions that are inimical to peace, socialism and the constitution. These people forget in this regard that our entire republic is a social peace service."

Influenced by discussions at the Hamburg church congress on the subject of peace, conducted mainly by young people -- discussions which had also given Stephan Hermlin the idea of a meeting of writers from East and West to promote peace -- since last summer, several thousand young people in the GDR have petitioned church authorities to ask state authorities to institute a "social peace service" as a

substitute for military service in the National People's Army. Last fall, the synod of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR and the synods of all eight Land churches had lined up behind this demand. State authorities, however, not only let it be known that the introduction of this kind of substitute for military service was out of the question; they also sought to nip the discussions in the bud and prevented any public mention of them in the GDR.

The "Berlin Meeting" of writers and scientists made it evident that the peace debate in the GDR could not be stifled, that the question of what the individual and society can do to promote peace is alive. Now it is not only the clerics who, behind thick church walls, are reflecting on conscientious objection and service in the cause of peace, the outlawing of war toys, unilateral disarmament concessions and pacifist ideas expressed in the motto "Peace Without Weapons"; now it is well-known, successful and respected GDR writers who are openly discussing these topics. This is because the "Berlin Meeting" organized by Stephan Hermlin did not take place behind closed doors: Hermlin's condition that it had to be public -- that Western correspondents and Western television had to be allowed to attend, with no restrictions on their reporting -- was fulfilled. Thus, the occasion was truly a public one. Even though GDR radio and television, like the GDR newspapers, were intent on selective, one-sided coverage, reporting only on the presentations that followed the party line -- under the motto "Peace Must Be Armed" -- keeping silent on those that expressed other opinions, the coverage offered by the Western television companies made it possible for nearly all GDR residents to obtain a picture of what was discussed at this meeting, to ascertain that the rift cuts right through the ranks of GDR writers.

Stephan Hermlin had made this remark in an interview prior to the meeting: "I should like as many as possible in my country to be discussing thoughts on peace." Thanks to his meeting, this wish has been brought closer to fulfillment. It is doubtful whether this is pleasing to the party leaders in Moscow and East Berlin. In the same interview, Hermlin had described the Western "peace movement" as the really "totally new thing" produced by 1981; he added this comment: "I believe that increased democracy can come out of this, here as well as there." That the spread of the "peace movement" to the GDR will bring increased democracy there -- meaning greater freedom as well -- is only a dream for the time being. But it was also only a dream at first that something like the meeting of writers from East and West for the promotion of peace could happen. Now Hermlin can say this: "I have fulfilled a dream of mine, and I wish I didn't have to wake up."

The full texts of the presentations by Stephan Hermlin, Franz Fuchmann, Guenter de Bruyn and Rolf Schneider follow. They were not even mentioned by the GDR media. Peter Jochen Winters (FAZ writer)

When I ask myself what it is that distinguishes our present situation from earlier crisis situations, I arrive at the following conclusions: 1. The role of force in political relations has changed. 2. A curious contradiction has arisen between the legitimate right of states to self-defense for the purpose of protecting their integrity and sovereignty and nuclear defensive measures that from the beginning are suicidal in nature and lead to self-destruction. The debate over the stationing of intermediate-range missiles in densely populated areas has pointed up this contradiction. 3. War, which despite its steadily increasing ghastliness has been able to maintain a character protective of life and morality right up to the threshold of the present day — I have in mind above all the defensive struggle by the anti-Hitler coalition against fascism — has become an absurdity. It can no longer be an instrument with which to gain a political end, as it was for Clausewitz; it must be outlawed.

4. A reduction ultimately leading to the total abolition of atomic weapons would be a tremendous success, but it would not be sufficient. The scientific capabilities that exist would necessarily transform a conventional war into a nuclear war if one of the warring parties were to find itself losing the contest. The outlawing of war in any form is becoming the crucial demand facing mankind.

The slogan "Peace Without Weapons," which has taken possession of large segments of the youth population, has within it the essence of a grand utopia; which is to say that it has real substance. Although it seems scarcely plausible that disarmament could be carried out any other way than simultaneously and on the basis of equivalence, the demand for unilateral disarmament is not to be ignored. It has intensified and cannot simply be pushed aside.

In this connection I should like to cite a remarkable document that first came to light this year. On 18 December 1917, 2 months after the October Revolution, the JOURNAL DE GENEVE had published an "Open Letter from a German to Herr Lenin," written by a German pacifist by the name of Fernau. In his letter, Fernau welcomed the new Soviet government's peace initiatives but criticized the government at the same time for entering into peace negotiations with the reactionary German government. Lenin's reply — which is not found in the edition of his collected works and, as I said, was published only this year as No 3 in the series of "Articles on the History of the Workers Movement" — read as follows:

"Militarism has lasted till now because everyone said he would be willing to disarm if his neighbor would. It (militarism, that is) will disappear when one of the powers becomes the first to disarm, and the others will sooner or later follow that example. Read, Herr Fernau, the by-laws of the League of Pacifists, which our Scandinavian neighbors founded recently. It calls above all for disarmament in Scandinavia itself, without waiting for the others to disarm. And read also, or read again, in Tolstoi's fairy tale about Ivan the Stupid the story of the czars, whose soldiers, when they met with no resistance whatsoever on the part of the vanquished populace, were revolted by such a totally one-sided war and returned to their homeland to till their fields. This is the reality of tomorrow, Herr Fernau. Work with us for its success. Do not overload your brain with the chimeras of a bloody past whose traces will soon disappear once all honest men apply themselves to that end!"

It is of course not true that this would have been Lenin's only opinion, or his final opinion, on eliminating militarism, bringing about disarmament and so forth. But it nonetheless shows that Lenin reflected in a very undogmatic, vivid, pragmatic and experimental way on the problem of eliminating war. In this respect as well, there is much in store for us.

Franz Fuchmann

1. It is a tragic paradox that mankind should be capable of destroying itself before it has even formed itself. Self-destruction as an act of formation. Indeed, mankind as a structured institution exists only in rudimentary form, as a common species, as fecundity, as a concept; what has been organized are peoples, states, nations and that power structure of blocs and camps which separate mankind not least of all by considering themselves the only conceivable model for mankind in the future. The unbroken tradition of an attitude of exclusivity that ultimately sees the path to the formation of mankind in the extinction of another instead of understanding the future as a synthesis of two opposite poles -- as something new, that is -- offers little hope of that saving grace that would increase by the same measure in which the threat is increasing.

2. The threat has taken on a new quality, has increased to the very threshold of its critical limits.

3. If mankind wants to survive, it must begin to constitute itself as mankind -- which means first of all to understand itself as mankind.

4. I see a starting point for this understanding of self in the peace movement, as it has begun to develop in the 1980's as a revolt by citizens of our planet against the arms madness that is endangering the world. In this, its universal character that transcends national, religious, governmental as well as ideological barriers, there lies the initial starting point for what one might call world domestic policy formulated from below -- the smashing of a vicious cycle in which mistrust breeds increased armament and increased armament breeds increased mistrust. With its correspondence of universality and citizens' initiative, there can be no substitute for the peace movement; its essence, like its objectives, can be delegated to no one; it therefore cannot be confined geographically. Its relationship to government peace policy is one of neither identity nor competition; it is the rudimentary form of a power wherein hope, which otherwise threatens to despair, becomes a new, material force. With its process of growth and development, with its problems as well as its outward manifestations, in both social orders it ought to be worth our most single-minded attention.

5. If it is true that peace is the greatest good, then it follows that this greatest good -- like the struggle to preserve it -- cannot be something that is derived, cannot be part of something superior to which it must subordinate itself, cannot be a means to a different end or an instrument leading to a goal other than the one that it itself represents.

6. If one is to learn to understand oneself as mankind, one must learn to understand others. The desire for peace is not a monopoly. The earnest willingness to recognize and take into account the security needs of the opposite side ought to be



accompanied by the realization that there is a difference between the concept of the opponent and that of the enemy, a difference which corresponds to that of considering in principle a definitive guarantee of peace -- precluding war -- to be possible or ultimately impossible. Wallowing in images of the enemy demonstrates sagacity as little as winning a game played with war toys demonstrates strength. In this respect I agree completely with the opinion expressed by Stephan Hermlin on the slogan "Peace Without Weapons."

7. Peace research as a science ought to become the most important field of study in all areas of education; the results should be common international property.

8. The fact of this meeting of ours strengthens my conviction that the most important thing continues to be the discovery, development and continuation of a community of interests -- which means using every means and opportunity at all levels to do that which involves "taking steps to build trust." The basis of all trust is truthfulness; it always begins as truthfulness toward oneself.

Untruthfulness can never be the means to an end, no matter how good; it subverts this end and discredits it. Ultimately it only reduces trust, whose reserves are exhaustible -- in all areas and in every respect, moreover. Like rivers that have dried up, trust that has been lost or damaged can be regenerated only with difficulty.

I hold with Immanuel Kant, who said that "the lie..." is "the really rotten spot on human nature." Like war, the lie should be outlawed. Both spring from the same root, and both lead to destruction.

To declare war on the lie wherever one has an effect, that is what matters -- the little as well as the great deal that a writer can do for peace.

Guenter de Bruyn

In 1809, Jean Paul wrote a "Declaration of War Against War," developing the following thesis: "The standing armies are pushing one another to such mutually exaggerated size that the bodies politic are succumbing under the weight of bearing arms." Since in the interim a "murderous machine" has been invented -- one which "begins and ends a battle with one blast, so that the enemy fires only the second, and thus the campaign is over toward evening" -- immorality must already have turned humanity into inhumanity unless the states now "divest themselves of their heavy armaments together" and unite in a global federation of states. But if wars with one another are to be prevented, these federative states ought to be republics, not monarchies. For in republics (so the illusion goes -- and not just Jean Paul's), it would no longer be the way it used to be, with two parties deciding to make war and having millions wage and endure it; instead, it would be decided by the millions ("those who have to bear the full weight of the war on their bruises" and who draw nothing but a blank in spite of having invested their lives and worldly goods in the murderous lottery), and if it had to be done, two would do the fighting.

I quote Jean Paul here not to unmask as an illusion the ideas of bourgeois pre-democrats -- in states which call themselves democracies, the people would have the opportunity to make decisions on war and peace; rather, I do it because I wish to

point out how well suited to our established political thinking simple folk wisdom sometimes is — like the notion that those who wield the power can jolly well fight their own wars with one another. If these bits of wisdom often seem absurd when measured against the facts, the simplicity of the reasoning only argues against the facts. For instance, someone in the bus comes up with a sure remedy against nuclear war: namely, a United Nations law that, strictly administered and strictly monitored, prohibits any construction of nuclear weapon-proof bunkers for presidents, party leaders and generals. Or one can read on the wall of a building (not here, unfortunately) a poetically concise version of utopia: Suppose they had a war, and nobody went!

Behind all this wishful thinking is, after all, the simple recognition — unclouded by ideologies and images of the enemy — that the world is full of people who want to live, that there is misery in this world that has to be eliminated, damage to the environment that has to be halted, and that the money and strength and intelligence that would be used to these ends is being poured into the production and maintenance of machines of murder (or suicide as well), machines that are allegedly designed not for use but only as a threat. The attempt is being made to suggest to the millions who live in fear of them that their existence is the condition that precludes their being fired — an explanation that not only turns logic upside down (because the best way to insure that an explosive force will not explode is for it not to exist) but also ignores the fact that every threat generates a greater one that must then be outdone again. If this constantly self-regenerating madness — which negotiations have so far failed to bring to an end and have hardly even slowed — is not to end in humanity in the real (not only the moral) sense being turned into inhumanity, the vicious circle must be broken, the death spiral must be reversed.

But (as the experience of recent decades has shown) only he who escapes the deadly cycle will be able to do this — in other words, the one who proves himself to be not only the more courageous and the more moral but the cleverer one in terms of the aphorism about being able to yield ground. For a state's most enduring protection is the satisfaction of its inhabitants, and it is difficult for this satisfaction to flourish where a defense readiness that has been pushed to the extreme is consuming that which is supposed to be defended. In an age of the new or mass annihilation, the lesson of the Sermon on the Mount (given this state of affairs, it might also occur to a non-Christian) is transformed from a precept of religion to a precept of reason; morality becomes a strategy for survival.

The peace movements in Western Europe are an encouraging sign that the millions who would be the ones to suffer in the next war — the dead, in other words — are not prepared to be the unresisting victims. They might also be a sign that the risk is diminishing for the one who ventures the first step toward reason — if these movements were to become stronger, to spread, not only across oceans but also beyond borders which, no matter how inviolable they are, would not be observed by nuclear death, which must not come, if it were to come after all. People in the GDR, too, are aware that the death of these 17 million people living between missiles has already been taken into account in map exercises; they are therefore frightened of all plans to increase armaments and welcome any offer of negotiations aimed at reducing arms. When they open up the newspapers, however, they have misgivings when the GDR state applauds the antiwar struggle by Christians, pacifists



and conscientious objectors on the other side of the borders but hinders the anti-war struggle by Christians, pacifists and conscientious objectors within its own borders. As gratifying as GDR support for the West European peace movement is, its usefulness will remain questionable as long as the impression must arise that what is celebrated as wonderful over there is not wanted over here. The peace policy of the GDR, which is seeking to ally with peace movements all over the world, is harming itself if it rejects the offer of alliance with independent peace movements in its own country — the young Christians who are calling for a social peace service, for example. If we drive them underground, we shall not only be losing valuable forces but also damaging our own credibility. But what a gain it would be if an independent peace movement in the GDR were to get behind approval of proposals to outlaw nuclear weapons! This would undoubtedly give greater weight to the peace efforts in the GDR. It would be a desirable thing if our meeting here could be the starting point for an opening in this direction — although I must admit that my hopes in this regard are extremely small.

Rolf Schneider

The praiseworthy peace initiative of European writers launched last summer by Bernt Engelmann has also been signed by numerous GDR authors. Newspapers here in our country have mentioned most of the names. Some were never mentioned; their owners had been expelled from the GDR Writers Association 2 years earlier. The express goal of the initiative was to view writers as multiplier factors and to use them to convey the idea of peace to their reading public. Those publicists who censored the aforementioned names out of the GDR press apparently considered the cultural policy complaints from '79 to be more important than the cause of peace. This is not merely shabby. We in the GDR — the originator of this event here today has repeatedly offered public proof of this — have much to make up for in matters of peace activity.

Stephan Hermlin made this observation in the light of the Hamburg church congress and the demonstration by 300,000 people in Bonn. There is presumably general agreement that without these manifestations the United States would not have traveled to the Geneva negotiations; and perhaps Helmut Schmidt would not have made it to the Verberlin this year. Manifestations of this kind are a force that is recorded gratefully in the GDR as well. What I have found to be scarcely mentioned in the GDR is the circumstance that the great majority of the West European and West German peace movement believes in the principle of radical pacifism.

The pacifist principle is not especially popular with those who govern the neighboring German state; the situation is virtually no different here in the GDR. But in view of the annihilation that is possible — whose inconceivability and indescribability we describe here in eloquent words — I wonder whether there can be any other coalition for the inhabitants of the two German states, the settlers along a political boundary line.

I should like to point out that pacifism in Europe has a proud tradition, supported by names like Bertha von Suttner, Rene Schickele, Heinrich Mann, Hermann Hesse, Romain Rolland, Carl von Ossietzky, Stefan Zweig, Kurt Tucholsky. Among them are many German names, tender monuments of humanism in a century of German barbarism.

Since we are fond of quoting these people in other contexts, we should feel free to include reflections on their pacifist convictions.

In GDR newspapers one can read, and in GDR schools one has to learn, that peace must be armed. I consider this thesis debatable. To my mind it is something out of an intellectual arms race. He who talks about weapons thinks about their use; he who uses weapons thinks of war as a possibility -- a defensive war, for all I care, but there is killing in a defensive war, too; nuclear weapons are set off in a defensive war, too. It is but a short distance from an armed attack on a boundary line to a nuclear blitz.

From this point of view I ask myself, I ask my GDR colleagues, whether we should keep on allowing children -- to whom neither death nor killing nor a nuclear blitz is conceivable -- to play with rifles and tanks, those found in the playroom and those found on merry excursions to maneuver areas.

I ask myself whether it is useful when the instructions issued by the GDR civil defense apparatus pretend that it is possible to survive a nuclear war by holding some asbestos in front of one's belly and adopting the correct position on the ground in relation to the nuclear blitz.

I ask myself whether it is in tune with the times for the GDR's general education schools to be teaching military training as a required subject.

I ask myself whether it is right when the widespread desire of young Christians in the GDR to perform social peace service in place of universal conscription is brushed aside with nothing but the word "unconstitutional."

I ask myself these questions. Understand them as an expression of the fairly certain conviction that the act of promoting peace in our day can be envisaged only in this way: as fanning the fear of war and fanning a loathing of everything that serves the cause of war.

There is no reasonable alternative to refusal and the mental attitude that sustains it.

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# BACKGROUND, CHANGES IN 'MOZGO VILAG' PRESENTED

Budapest MOZGO VILAG in Hungarian Mar-Apr 81 pp 3-4

[Letter to the Reader by the Editor, 17 May 1981]

[Text] Ten years ago when the anthology entitled MOZGO VILAG [Moving World] appeared for the first time, many of the then young writers felt that they were late starters. Six years later, this same generation of "over-aged" writers was called "young" and "starting" because, as a "reward" for its patience (and its talent, of course), it was given a magazine. It was at Christmas 1975 when the first issue of the bimonthly MOZGO VILAG reached the stands as the literary, artistic, critical and public education magazine of the KISZ's Central Committee. The number of authors increased in proportion with the number of issues sold on the streets, for "we, the young ones," became more and more numerous (and more and more old). More precisely: while we remained young according to an unfortunate common consent, embarrassingly numerous really young people became writers. This is how it happened that one of our editors received the poems of a high school junior together with the following recommendation: "Dear Professor, if you have the time, please read the enclosed writings. Your opinion interests me personally because the author is one of my most talented pupils..." We had to make a step forward.

Beginning with January 1980, MOZGO VILAG was allowed to appear every month. And although the 12 issues a year did not mean twice as much volume as we had when it was a bimonthly, we began to struggle with the works of (already 3 generations of) "young people" with renewed optimism.

We needed the experiences of a full year of editing to recognize that this optimism was not always justified. Our willingness for work, our stamina and our initiative sometimes displayed the symptoms of "over-aged changes," no matter how much we felt that, although our average age was beyond the midpoint of human life, we were still in possession of all the creative strength. We wanted to do something else, evidently something more and better; something different at any rate, in a different way than the other magazines. For we saw that precisely these, continually expandable, generational frames are the ones that mean strict limitations between the roles and tasks given to us; for we felt increasingly responsible for our readers and authors, and for the Hungarian spiritual life. We were looking for the possibilities of surpassing ourselves, of changing our working conditions and, consequently, of acquiring more and more readers. But we did

not expect the criticism of the conditions of our work (more broadly, the problematic elements of our social and cultural reality) to have emotional overtones as well, on the basis of which many people felt that our behavior was different from our original intentions.

When we are able now to talk about the editorial program of the renewed MOZGO VILAG (which also proves that our entire activity up to now, including our mistakes, is not considered as an opposition), we want, first of all, to define our basic ideological and political stand.

Ideologically, we are continuing to be committed to dialectic and historical materialism; politically, we remain committed to the socialism that we are building; our editorial methods and debates will be determined by Marxist scientific principles.

We publish in our magazine every humane artistic endeavor that can be aesthetically evaluated, every constructive theoretical experiment and every justified socio-critical emotion. But, in the spirit of the principles above, we are also going to debate some of these. We are going to start a debate whenever we see either the ideological or emotional signs of "outside views" and whenever reference to the ideals of socialism is only a camouflage of conservatism and doctrinarianism. But we will also argue when we recognize the distorted justification of individual or group interest, no matter in what kind of ideological or aesthetic dressing it appears.

MOZGO VILAG would like to be an artistic, critical and socio-theoretical magazine primarily for the generation which came on stage at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s together with the overture of the socialist "reform age." This does not mean, of course, that we want to set up a kind of generational reservation. One of our tasks is continuing to be a help to the most talented young artists and scientists, and we want to give more opportunities than before to the representatives of the older generation of writers to speak out.

We want to deal more regularly and more resolutely with the ideological and practical questions of socialist democratism, with the ideological, pedagogical and political aspects of the problems of "national traditions," with ethical categories of "public interest," with Marxism's concept of man and personality, with the ideological and aesthetic foundations of literary and art criticism, with the progressive phenomena of the Hungarian spiritual life beyond our borders, with the life of our immediate and less immediate neighbors, and finally, with the relationship between the post-liberation artistic generations, i.e., with the "nature" of socialist Hungary's spiritual continuity. Beyond the contents of this program, one of our main goals will be to create an ethical, open, and perhaps sharp, spirit and style of debate.

In looking back at the 3 periods of MOZGO VILAG's history of more than a decade, we say an appropriate farewell, first of all, to our founder, the KISZ's Central Committee, more precisely, to its Cultural Department. We say farewell to the Youth Magazine Publishing House which published our magazine for 5 years.

We say farewell to Miklos Veress, our leaving chief editor, who in 5 years made a real magazine out of the early struggling periodical. Although he has another job



as of March (we wish him much success as a senior editor of the ELET ES IRODALOM [Life and Literature]), he remains a permanent member of the community he created,

As it can be seen from the imprint of this issue, our editing work is essentially unchanged, although we have a new chief editor and another publishing house. The main reason for the latter change is the fact that the authors of most writings published in the Mozgo Vilag grew out of the KISZ age group and are ready in every respect to have the same opportunities within the framework of socialist cultural policies as their contemporaries have who are publishing in other magazines.

The new chief editor, Ferenc Kulín, assistant professor of literary history at the Lorand Eotvos College of Sciences, is not unknown to our readers. As Miklos Veress deputy and as the editor of the column of literary criticism, he was already among the editors between 1975 and 1980. His deputy, Jozsef Tamas Remenyi, who, as a deputy chief editor, guarded the magazine's continuity and faced the difficulties that it entailed, has been working for MOZGO VILAG since 1979. Andras Gergely, candidate of history and assistant professor at the Department of Philosophy of the Lorand Eotvos College of Sciences, will be a new editor.

The fact that the changes in the magazine's management correspond with the change in MOZGO VILAG's publishing status, explains not only the changed profile described above but hopefully will also give a new impetus to our work. It would be, of course, too early to look for the new undertakings in the issues that will appear in the early months. Even the most dynamic concept is bound by the well-known slowness of the technical processes of making a magazine.

We know that we can eliminate our mistakes and show better results only through self-improvement; we also reckon with the continued interest of our readers. For this reason, we turn to you in closing, dear Reader. Thank you for having an interest in our work and for having the patience to wait for this belated double issue. Let your confidence in the magazine mean that you will not only read our magazine but will take part in the debates as well. We thank you in advance, and send you our greetings.

The Editors

9414

CSO: 2500/45

WRITER PROTESTS TACIT, MANDATORY CONFORMITY

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 12 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Judit Fenakel: "And Finally One Becomes an Expert"]

[Text] At age 20, he staggers into the editorial office with his first article and awaits its publication with goosepimpled suspense. Well, it appears. The introduction is still as he had written it. The next paragraph seems rather shorter than in the original manuscript, half a sentence had been removed. Apparently they found it loquacious and made the information more concise. But, in the third paragraph appear strange new adjectives, which are not part of his vocabulary--he simply never uses them. He wrinkles his forehead and continues reading. The fourth and fifth paragraphs relax him somewhat. But, in the sixth, again there is a garbled sentence with the beginning omitted and the end shortened. In his recollection it was a strikingly complex sentence imbuing the entire text with a touch of irony. Now the text neither is striking nor has it irony. On the other hand, it is mildly unintelligible. Then comes the conclusion. Dear God! What happened to his sarcastic concluding sentence? The exclamation mark was tamed into a period. By leaving out the negative particle, no, the negation was turned into affirmation. The last two words were deleted while a mild adjective was added. With stomach churning, he reaches for the phone to protest. He decides, "I shall never write for them again."

"For whom?" he asks himself the next day. He begins to realize that he was robbed of the possibility for revenge. For whom will he write no more? for the jovial, smiling editor who complimented his talents? "See, young man," the editor told him, "we need many such manuscripts." Hardly two weeks after his complimentary remarks, the article or something similar did appear in the paper. And if he will not write any more for them? At least 10 others are standing in line for the two columns used by his article.

Thus, within a month, he writes the next article and ambles with it into the editorial office. The editor is not as cordial now but he too can have bad days. "We have an enormous number of manuscripts," he says indifferently. "We can hardly keep up with reading them." Starvation follows. Two weeks pass, one month, then another. He opens the paper impatiently, looking for himself--in vain. After another month, he decides on a modest phone call. They may have forgotten him. No, of course not, only there are many manuscripts. One is better than the other. His is a little less colorful now. He strives, writes a new one and is glad if it appears after half a year--with slight modifications,

of course. He blundered in front of his acquaintances because of the twisted sentences and a bombastic phrase. But he no longer complains. He wants to be published--and he is published, for the third and also for the fourth time. They always remove something from his manuscript and they always add something different. He gets used to it. He thinks that he has made it. His only task is to collect his thoughts and to write them down. He is already sort of an external coworker.

But his fifth article no longer reaches the published stage. He tries calling, in vain, for he is mired in the maze of secretaries. The editor is away, in conference, receiving foreign guests, has ceased to exist, at least as far as he is concerned.

Months, perhaps years, pass. He seems to have given up, although, with one eye, he scans the newspaper in case he was again squeezed in somehow. Then he stitches together his torn vanity and tries his luck again with one of the manuscripts multiplying in his drawer. Of course, by now he knows the ropes and sifts through the manuscripts. He selects one of the gentler ones and irons it, to be even more nice and flat. No sharp edges, corners, wrinkles should remain.

"I have not seen you for a long time, young man," the editor rejoices and reads the manuscript on the spot. He pouts his lips, scratches his head and pronounces the sentence. "You have forgotten everything we taught you."

He realizes that he is perched on the lowest rung of the ladder. He is also the only one who knows that he has been demoted. The others think that he is a new associate. Therefore, even those who are perched anxiously on the second and third rungs of the ladder will delete from and add to his work, until he learns that the procedure can be prevented. For instance, he himself could delete and add whatever those above him delete and add. But even this is double effort. He would spare his body and soul if he would compose in such a way that neither deletion nor insertion... One learns fast. Soon he submits such well-rounded works that even an instrumental examination would not find corners jutting out. He no longer writes his thoughts but polishes them in a mechanical way. His lathe produces rollers and balls resembling each other, just as smooth and round as the rollers and balls produced by other lathes. It is a bit boring, but roundness can also exult in the absence of anything better. Sooner or later it will enhance his professional self-esteem that such perfectly round things are delivered from his pen, moreover, not even from his pen but straight from his head. After a while, he cannot think in any other but a round and faultless manner. No contradictions anywhere, the thoughts do not argue with each other--they fit together, just as matters of the world also fit together actually and globally, in an orderly fashion.

He becomes a true professional. Neither is this a small accomplishment. As he looks around, upward and downward, he is somewhere around the middle, say, on the third rung of the ladder. There are many above but also below him. The 20-year-olds come, elbow themselves and await, in goosepimpled suspense, publication, which depends on him now. He has good will and is supportive of the young. Therefore, in their own interest, he deletes a bit from their manuscript and even adds to it elsewhere--as demanded by professionalism.



Of course, the youths complain. They make a racket about censorship. But where is any censorship here? He smiles jovially at the noisy youths because he knows that they too eventually will fit into the trade. Five or six years, for the more clever ones even the three-month probation time may suffice, and they also will turn into true professionals. They will fan out of the mold, with closed eyes: actually it is right this way; in general things are in order; although there are difficulties but we will overcome them; steadily increasing development; effectiveness; human factor. They know with unsparing certainty when it is "colorful" and "impressive," when it was "said," when "stressed" and when "pointed out." They have their professional code word for every facet of life. They write, instead of the "factory went bankrupt," that the production structure must be changed; instead of "we cannot get fresh bread," that the choice of goods is not quite satisfactory. Abandoned construction is a lack of capacity; lacking machine parts means certain organizational shortcomings; the leader usurping his power, he has not yet understood the essence of industrial democracy; black, dirty liquid coming from the faucet means that during cleaning, sediments not affecting health got into the water at some places; in the 23-bed ward, four patients are lying on the floor reads the number of surgical beds was increased by four; the hospital has no X-ray and EKG machines, there still remain certain inadequacies in instrumental supply.

We have a dictionary's worth of professional gobbledygook in order to ease the thousand cares and troubles of the world into the uniformly dulling printer's ink.

And yet--or rather, knowing all these--he sits on the third (fourth?) rung of the ladder, facing the manuscript that he just sanitized. His sanitizing is attested to by thick black lines. Indeed, he deleted 25 percent of the manuscript and rewrote about 15 percent of it--altogether 40 percent. In his momentary foolishness, he starts to reflect how long a written work--either an article or a commentary--retains its identity. After what percentage of intervention can it still be viewed as the product of the author's intellect instead of some confection industry? In general, where is the line between an individual piece and a serial product? If the line between the two is washed out, is there any need for separately laboring pens? After all, by bringing together the material and intellectual forces, we can create a single, mechanized pen, a pen-computer that would free the energy of many small producers.

One already has a mental image of the enormous state pen, the colorful, impressive giant structure, that writes everything--instead of us--within the briefest possible time, with the greatest possible speed and the least possible energy requirement. It just spews out lack of capacity, narrow cross section, effectiveness and human factor. And then these many, restless, dirty-nailed, bespectacled cripples, this mass of pushing, swarming, touchy, hungry, unpleasant human factors can finally get lost.

2473

CSO: 2500/85

## WRITER EXPRESSES DISENCHANTMENT TO POET

Budapest MOZGO VILAG in Hungarian No 7, Jul 81 p 117

[Letter by Endre Manyoki to Erzsébet Toth]

[Text] I wanted to write an introduction, Erzsébet, I swear! But this one, too, ended up being a letter, an epistle... You see, I am slowly becoming a new kind of Kelemen Mikes, and it is not difficult to guess what kind of an exile it is from where I send, from time to time, silly and crazy lines to every direction, under pretense and under no pretense. This correspondence is "ur-ugy" [matter related to space] for me, to continue the pun and to play with space filled with chaos. You do not know how much I would like to write once about buds, about spring, and about the sky which, I would say, was azure. (Kosztolányi's pun, az Ur, would be very appropriate here--but I do not know what to do with it.)

I do not know either, what this terrible compulsion is: to write a letter for all occasions. I have tried it a dozen times to make an extenuating ideology for this, saying, is there a way nowadays to tell the truth other than sending the sensitive reactions of an unstable nervous system (we know why it is unstable) in all directions in a closed letter? I said already, only a diary or a letter can describe what I am in my wholeness and by myself. For I do not have anything but myself, and even this picture is incomplete. How could I, then, display a picture of the world? That, too, is closed within myself.

It is only laziness and weakness, though. It is only loafing around in a daze lied into awokenness through nikotine, caffeine and alcohol. Nothing more. Searching. A kind of vegetating, similar to the existence of those who mine their food for the next day from garbage cans. And it is not too bad if it is only collecting and not selling oneself for food. Self-bazaar, [Another pun: magam-bazar, instead of magamba zar = to close in myself.]

You know, I have once elaborated on it a to z on a small piece of paper, how much I would love to live in a country where everyone is identified with words, in which everyone carries a name that is deserved. From the comma to the verb, everything would be there a significant and indispensable element of the sentence, which can be thus only meaningful. But here where the sentence always means something else and the word is supposed to hide the essence, the only decent role goes only to the question mark. It did not become a publication, for the classic, who is quite opposed to me, announced a counter-argument. It hurt me; there was

several weeks' work on that page and a half. But since then I have discovered that I would only conserve chaos as a questioning officer. This dream, then, remained a canned dream which I (lacking anything better) still warm up often. It will not make one alive: it is a little stale and the warranty date (the title) has already been long passed.

It would be good to talk about so many things, Erzs! I would tell you what that introduction would have been about had I not written this letter instead. On that, too, I worked for weeks. First only the first sentence came about: Erzebet Toth's soul is red. It is the color of rebellion, Ady, mourning, life and death, and dried blood. The rest came easily: Erzebet Toth's soul is white.

It is the color of cleanliness, defenselessness, and the shirt pulled open by those standing in front of rifles. It is the color of Goya, the gray-white face of the fallen dead; a pigeon whose throat was cut. And, finally, of course: Erzebet Toth's soul is green. It is the color of freedom, spaciousness, the sea before the storm, the face of the drowned; the soldier's uniform; mimicry and provocation. The pigeon with the cut throat in the field.

This is what should have been nicely written. Perhaps. Perhaps not. Because the flag!... flying or rolled up?!... come on! Incidentally, how could it fly: seldom blows the wind in a box. Because (and this is what the problem is here) we ourselves, too, live in cans. Our bodies are pressed together with no air. This is for which, or against which, we should do something. We should either endure it by growing a gill, or... What should I say? How do you make the flag fly inside? I believe we must first open the box, no matter what it is made of and no matter how thick its walls are.

9414

CSO: 2500/46

## SUSPENSION OF YOUNG WRITERS CIRCLE EXPLAINED

Paris IRODALMI UJSAG in Hungarian Jul-Oct 81 p 3

[Excerpts] In our last issue, we reported that the FIJAK [Young Writers' Jozsef Attila Circle] which had held a number of meetings rather daring in tone had been suspended by joint agreement of the Hungarian Writers' Federation and the Ministry of Culture as of 11 March 1981. This was briefly reported in the 14 March 1981 issue of ELET ES IRODALOM. The reasons for the move were presented in a single sentence: "A majority of the leadership of the Circle wished to obtain functions for the Circle which ran contrary to the statutes of the writers federation and the rules for operating FIJAK."

How can it be that the party's position became a minority position in a literary group which is under strict control? And if this did indeed happen, how could it be that the party was unable to convince (or intimidate) the majority so that it would change its opinion?

Not long after our press deadline, the editors received a letter from Budapest. Even though the letter fails to answer all questions related to the suspension of FIJAK, we quote it:

The first explanation, spread by word of mouth, not in writing, is as follows. FIJAK convened a meeting at the end of last year at Szentendre. At the meeting, a number of persons violently attacked the literary policy of Gyorgy Aczel, the party's principal director of domestic cultural life. The poet and journalist, Akos Szilagyi, was most outspoken. His criticism was made strictly in accordance with communist guidelines. At the same time, suggestions were made: for an independent journal and for special programs, for example. Szilagyi's speech was published in KRITIKA, the cultural policy and critical periodical, but KRITIKA immediately rebutted it in an article by Istvan Szerdahelyi. Next, Szilagyi set forth his proposals in a letter to Gyorgy Aczel. Aczel asked Imre Dobozsy, chairman of the Writers' Association, to suppress the letter. This Szilagyi and his colleagues who collaborated in composing the letter refused to do. Thereupon the secretariat of the Hungarian Writers' Association suspended the activities of the Circle.

This was followed by a committee meeting of the Writers' Federation, not attended by all members. In the course of it, writer after writer condemned the action of the secretariat. One exception was Istvan Kiraly, the party's full-time employee. Sharpest criticism came from Istvan Gal and Gabor Czako who said they were ashamed of being Aczel's puppets and of having supported base manipulations for years. There was no vote taken.

This is the extent of the word of mouth explanation which has been permitted to circulate. But there is another, more important, explanation: A young and talented poet, Erzsebet Toth, spoke up at the Szentendre conference of FIJAK. She said she had recently read Tibor Meray's book on Imre Nagy and realized from it that she had been told untruths. She demanded that the Hungarian people be given the truth about the revolution. On the following day Gyorgy Accel gave Gyula Csak, who was representing the party at the FIJAK conference, a hysterical dressing down for not coming to the defense of the party and failing to take a stand against open, counterrevolutionary incitement. Incidentally, no one spoke up against 1956 nor in defense of the lies propagated in official party history. This was the true reason for the suspension of FIJAK.

CSO: 2500/44



## RESPONSIBILITY IN EDUCATING INTELLECTUALS STRESSED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 12, 1981 pp 43-64

[Article by Laszlo Egyed and Dr Ida Jager, lecturers of Chemical University in Veszprem: "The Responsibility for Educating Intellectuals"]

[Text] The exchange of opinions conducted about youth's social role and the articles published on the subject of how ideologies are formed—which were printed in this year's PARTELET, issues No 1 and No 3—are urging us to write about creating a sense of political obligation in youth and about the practical problems involved in this. Mihaly Kordinesz's article published in the September issue, particularly his analysis concerning the political-ideological views and behavior of the intelligentsia, reinforced this impetus.

The joint activity of teachers and students happens everywhere in the institutions of higher learning on the basis of complex educational plans. The party members working in these education shops to become intellectuals deal systematically and in a planned manner with the tasks of political and public life education. They emphasize everywhere, unanimously in words and in writing, that ideological education, the formation of an ideology, is "not a resort task, nor is it the task of only the departments of Marxism-Leninism..." but can only result from complex, joint activity. Yet, in reality the areas that otherwise belong organically together often separate in practice. We seek the answer for this and how we can move beyond this pervasive problem, hoping that with joint efforts and the exchange of ideas we can reach our goals.

## Practical Problems

The attempts at defining the essential content of the term "socialist intelligentsia" and the "how-to" of creating this "quality" [sic] have multiplied during the last decade. Experience shows that the politically conscious professional is formed (if he comes into existence at all) within a mechanism functioning according to a given distribution of work. In an extreme case in the natural sciences and technical departments the specialist is created by the special departments, and the ideological quality, by the departments of social sciences (especially the [department of] Marxism-Leninism). In a better case the "dual result" is created by joint activity of party members working in the institute in a deliberately planned and organized manner.

Though the usual picture of the situation has changed, a characteristic separation can still be seen: we hear of and read about the professional and public life, or professional and political activity, of the intelligentsia. But it is hardly debatable that an engineer, teacher or doctor relates our social goals to his surroundings every day during professional activity; his decisions and the quality of his work also influence the living and working conditions of people. Because of this very thing it does not make sense to treat professional and political education separately, and to describe the creation of professionally well-trained and politically active intelligentsia as educational requirements in this manner; this also promotes the maintenance of this harmful practice.

Simply put, the separation of professional and political activities within the education system reinforces the false ideological attitude that these can be separated. But in our social system they can not be separated at all, because they do not represent separate values. Exactly because of this we cannot be satisfied by our students "becoming good engineers, doctors, or good...professionals of any kind"--regardless of their total social quality, political and ideological culture, convictions and way of life. Because if we graduate only excellent professionals in the schools, the kind who are perfectly adequate in Katmandu, Boston or Munich, but not socialist professionals, whose political allegiance is on our side, then the quality of our work is also completely objectionable. It is irresponsible to say that our youth are "indifferent" or that they are "not sufficiently interested"; on the contrary, their interest and desire for knowledge of the social and political processes is increasing. The level and intensity of this, and how and with what degree of success we satisfy their needs in this direction, depend primarily on us. Even though we sense the separation between professional and ideological education, we are not testing effective solutions, at best we "fill the gaps" and are delaying the necessary and thorough changes with partial solutions. The false solutions or formalistic solutions, which perhaps at best realize forced "repoliticization" of some professional subject, foreign to its essential nature, cause more harm than good. Thus there is no way we can excuse ourselves from searching for and applying the effective methods.

How well we can awaken the interest of young people and how well we can transform this interest to internal need and a constant, subjective concern also depend primarily on us--on the quality of our own personality, on the demands we make on ourselves. Therefore, the demands we make on each other, the responsibility the members of the party's basic organization feel for each other (and also for those who are not party members) and their consistent work significantly influence the success of our activity.

The work is often hindered if it appears that by transferring some (and "the more the better") information we promote the creation of active political involvement, even though knowledge and conviction are far from necessarily running together. Even though we know this, still in political work we often consider our job done when we create the former [appearance]. We lose the effects from emotion and from the subjective vehemence of relating our experiences and we force debates of creative character and wise reasoning, which may really generate conviction, into the background.



This is often manifested also in the relationships between KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] and the party organizations, as well as in the contacts between party members and nonmembers. We will not be able to end the separation between professional and political activity. This separation is present not only in education but also as a contrast between academic and political work. However, the existence of efforts that orient one's values and define youth's activity depends also on the work of communists working in the institutions.

#### The Sphere of Effectiveness of Educational Activity

In the resolution of MSZMP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] 10th Congress we read the following, among other things, about the job of educating youth:

"Educating youth, preparing them for life, to build socialism and communism, and for all those tasks that await them in the country's life and in the struggles of the world's progressive forces, is the great social task of the adult generation. The education of youth is not solved automatically as society progresses, but only if our party and our government, our schools and our social organs, and last but not least the parents work on it systematically and with the proper care."

We can fully implement these tasks only if we can apply new formats and more effective tools in shaping the political profile of our youth, creating the motivation for accepting the political views. The conditions for this are, on the one hand, purposefully developed and consistent showing of example and, on the other hand, political activity through which we can develop the personality of our students. Many people reason that the main personality traits of youth accepted to the universities can be considered as developed. Basically this is true. Yet, due to their age they have little experience, their outlook on life is affected mainly by impressions obtained in the elementary and secondary schools and in the family. The socialism surrounding them is a self-evident social environment to them; they accept its main goals and consider it their own. Even if their opinion is uniform and correct in some questions, their political conscience has developed unevenly and is differentiated in judging details.

Recently their interest in domestic and foreign policy questions has become significantly stronger; as a result of the KISZ Central Committee's congressional letter [sic] this is directed at domestic policy and economic relationships. In spite of the avalanche of information, a "hunger for information" can be seen in some important basic questions. Often they have idealistic notions about socialism, and their knowledge of history, so important to understand the present situation more thoroughly, is very deficient. Often they cannot properly use the information they possess; the practical ability of finding and making use of the handgrips, the points of orientation indispensable in everyday life from the social science knowledge they have obtained, has not developed in them by itself. Under the influence of teaching and educational work the university youth should recognize the high-level scientific acquisition of ideological knowledge is based on familiarization with the objective laws of society, and this is the indispensable foundation of work--and of life. We must be such an information-disseminating medium, which teaches its students that the correct selection from the huge mass of information is possible only on the basis of a consciously and well-acquired scientific ideology.

Conviction deriving from an internal moral behavior must be reflected in every deed of those educators who handle the political education of the students and who wish to exert a conviction-strengthening effect on them. They must be competent professionals and propagandists of the communist principles. Such educators develop the correct political views, a form of behavior befitting the socialist man and a realistic value system in the students, in addition to the professional information material. Of course, the activities of individual educators is not sufficient for this; the entire university atmosphere must be such that the students become more open, more receptive to new information and to the social issues. This is how a valuable intelligentsia, on accepting the responsibility for changing the social processes, can develop in the complexity of the educational process.

What opportunities are available to shape the political profile of our students? First, we must mention the process of education. The well-prepared educator motivates his students in the right direction, particularly if within the framework of his area of professional expertise he professes definite ideological-political views and if he also relates these in the proper manner. Often a well-placed sentence or opinion means more than a debate session that turns out poorly. It would be important for our educators to take better advantage of the framework of scientific work done with the students. With work performed and well organized, the expectation of success or even of a failure presumes a relationship where the conversation may be about any topic, from the most personal issues to the problems of smaller or larger communities. This working relationship is also suitable for daring to politicize in a well-guided manner and with awareness of their political responsibility, trying to exert effects in the right direction, awakening the interests and the interpretation of reasons,

In addition to scientific activity and teaching and educational work, it is also a method of forming political awareness when an individual educator helps with the KISZ work of a study group. When he participates in the various events, providing information openly and clearly, he is also practicing public life activity and provides the group the opportunity to play a role in public life. We must note that the implementation of this format in practice is the most difficult thing to do. An educator must have very good pedagogical and practical feeling in order to be able to do this work interestingly and believably. At times the students view the help as interference. If the educator does not possess the human qualities to dissolve the community's possible resistance and is unable to get himself accepted, his work will become a formality only, and its effect will be hardly measurable.

We can do much to reach our goals also by just creating such directness in the teacher-student relationship in which the mutual "give-and-take," communication respecting each other, becomes natural. Such an attractive force between the party member teacher and the students assures this and also the appropriate foundation for preparing our students more successfully than before to perform the intellectual functions. If we consciously emphasize in connection with all academic subjects those elements that reinforce in them the dialectics of the desirable historical view and of patriotism-internationalism, then political conviction and exacting will really become an internal need for them.

8584

CSO: 2500/75

## WARSAW VOIVODSHIP PARTY PLENUM ACTIVITIES REPORTED

### Report on Plenum Deliberations

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Oct 81 p8

[Article: "Party Tasks in the Struggle for Socialism; Plenum of the Warsaw Committee of PZPR"]

[Text] The deliberations of the plenum of the Warsaw Committee of PZPR lasted 2 days, the subject being the current socioeconomic situation and the party organizations' tasks stemming therefrom.

Jerzy Boleslawski, secretary of the voivodship committee, made a speech on behalf of the executive group of the PZPR voivodship committee.

### Discussion of the Speech

It was stated in the speech that we are approaching the deliberations in a situation in which hundreds, thousands, of our fellow party members, many of the basic party organizations (POP), are engaged in a political battle. The changing political reality and the realities surrounding the struggle are forcing us basically to revalue our previous assessments and directions of action. As never before in the history of socialist Poland, we are facing an exceptionally strong expansion of forces which have decided generally to attempt to separate Poland from the camp of the forces of socialism and progress.

These threats are growing from day to day, very suddenly. The forces of the right, aware of their goals and aspirations, are attacking with impunity. Step by step they are creating facts accomplished, are upsetting the structure of the socialist state, and are creating the conditions for a complete takeover of power.

Exploiting the justified dissatisfaction of the workforce, the numerous errors in the authorities' actions, the inconsistency and ineffectiveness in resolving the enormous problems, and also the strong ideological and political disorganization in the various social groups, they have managed to win many factions of society over to their slogans. There is a system-

atic implementation of a scenario in which with special viciousness an attack is made on the foundations of the existence of our state, our alliance with the Soviet Union. Anti-Soviet attitudes and enmity for the nations of the Soviet Union are incited in all sorts of ways.

As some people are attempting to explain, this is not all the manifestation of a lack of political imagination on the part of the instigators of these actions but the deliberate action calculated to separate Poland from its natural allies, to draw the country into the orbit of Western influence, and thereby to revise political order in Europe, to make our country into an outpost of anti-Sovietism.

Only our party can stand at the head of the forces which must set up a barrier to the further expansion of antisocialist moves. Hence, it is understandable that a permanent attack is being waged against our party. Only the tactics of it have changed.

Prior to the Ninth Party Congress it was a question of breaking up the party and depriving it of its Marxist-Leninist stance. The party defended its Marxist-Leninist nature, and the Ninth Party Congress worked out a socialist platform for the consolidation of all progressive forces of the nation. This circumstance, along with the absence of decisive resistance on our part, on the part of the authorities, and also the everyday impunity, inclined the forces of the right wing to seek new methods, direct attacks on the party and the state machinery, including extortion and political terror. The motives for such action are clear. It is a question of creating an atmosphere of enmity towards the party and its activists, of discrediting its program and the possibilities for its implementation. This makes it possible at the same time to divert the attention of the masses of "Solidarity" members and the whole society away from the fact that the program of this union is essentially a negation, a blockade against all attempts to overcome the economic crisis.

The right wing has written into the scenario of its actions a harnessing of the struggle for power of the vocational movement, in which millions of Poles still see a constructive force in the implementation of their noble hopes and expectations. These intentions have become particularly obvious in the campaign prior to the "Solidarity" congress and at the congress itself, at its forum and in the corridors. Because of manipulatory moves, with the help of demagoguery, right-wing representatives forced an antiworker rationale and content onto "Solidarity." They wrote into the union's program an alternative form of government, still in a form which veils the truth, but nevertheless an obviously extremely anticommunist alternative.

The need for joint action, for a mutual action to rescue the country, has been strongly accentuated by us too at our Warsaw party conference, the speech went on to say. On the other hand, today we face the fact that our proposals have been rejected, and this means a refusal to take part in the implementation of the program for political and economic stability.



In the ranks of the Warsaw party organization we have many thousands of comrades who have courageously committed themselves to defend the party and who are undertaking a political struggle, although they are being met with crude attacks on the part of aggressive "Solidarity" groups. In this struggle the party activists are becoming more and more worn out physically and psychically. Sometimes fighting in isolation, they do not receive sufficient support, even in the form of a sufficient number of arguments or constructive actions and efforts to authenticate the party's policy, which they are defending each day. This is particularly true where party members are astonished by erroneous decisions or unconvincing explanations made by the authorities on various issues which are confusing public opinion.

Because of the activity of party workers in the work establishments, many basic party organizations have been availing themselves of the period following the Ninth Party Congress for the political consolidation of the party ranks. Today they are organizations which come out of the social base, organizations which are revealing the real face of the extremist wing of "Solidarity," organizations which are not fighting against "Solidarity" but for its worker-movement character, for constructive cooperation in overcoming the crisis. On the other hand, the picture of the Warsaw party organization would not be complete, unless we were to add that there is a large number of basic party organizations and party plant echelons which are displaying a lack of political initiative.

The assessment of the current situation places before us the tasks of organizing a defense of the socialist state. It is upon how we undertake the task and when we put an end to the anarchy and destruction that the implementation of a socialist line of social reasoning and the fate of the socioeconomic reforms which have already been begun with such difficulty will depend.

The defense of socialism using all possible means is the patriotic duty of every Pole.

Such a position does not mean a departure from the line of dialogue and understanding. It is a question of understanding and agreement with all the social forces desirous of ending the crisis, of democratizing public life, and of deepening social justice, but there can be no agreements with those groups which are fighting against socialism. The defense of the socialist system and state is not a fight against "Solidarity." It is a struggle for objective reason and interests of the working class, for the right reason of our nation. It is also a struggle for the working-class nature of "Solidarity," its real character as a union. In this matter the authorities must be decisive. The past indecision, helplessness, and softness are perceived in a negative way by the society, by the workforces of the Warsaw work establishments. Millions of party members and people outside the party have already become sick of the anarchy and chaos, the unruliness and license, and the lawlessness. They are calling for consistent action and decisiveness. It is necessary for the central authorities to take such a position, in order to mobilize all

the forces of the party where the fate of the struggle for socialism in the broad sense is up for grabs, that is, the struggle for human convictions, attitudes, and views.

Today it is already obvious that unless there is a turnabout in all social forces, including the party elements and all the trade unions, toward the actual commitment to carrying out the program to stabilize the national economy, the state of its disintegration within 2 or 3 months will make it impossible for the reform to succeed. Meanwhile all of today's disputes about the configuration of the reform, including the campaign launched by "Solidarity" concerning the manner of appointing directors, prove to be moot questions, but this does not mean that in participating in the arresting of the crisis processes the party elements are to give up their work on self-government and reform. Both tasks are equally important.

Nonetheless, the crisis, which our country is going through has political foundations above all. For this reason, unless we overcome the political crisis, including that in the sphere of ideology, it is not possible to master the negative phenomena in the economy. It is already high time for us to start removing the masks which are making adversaries of socialism appear to be friends of the labor issue. We must demask them to show their real faces, to show their origins, ties, and real political goals and intentions, and the methods of operation and the way these have seeped into "Solidarity."

Today, in the era of struggle, organizational efficiency and political unity of the party are becoming the supreme issue as never before, an absolute condition to the effective defense of socialism in our country, and for this reason, particularly in the light of the results of the "Solidarity" congress, every basic party organization [POP] and every party activist must ask himself: How can I carry out the provisions of the party statute? Today as never before, the party needs unity of action. For this reason too we must take up the struggle against anyone who tries to undermine this unity.

In taking up the offensive on the political front, we cannot for a moment allow ourselves to lose sight of the market situation, production conditions and preparations of urban services and work establishments to operate during the winter. The situation in the realm of material production is absolutely catastrophic, but we cannot merely record the facts and give in to fatalism; it is bad and going to get worse. With greater consistency and energy on the part of the urban and plant administration and the social organizations it will be possible to make things easier for people, if only in the simplest matters.

The assessment made of the situation's development, as stated in conclusion, makes the whole party face the task of organizing the defense of socialism in our country, gradually broken down, step by step. It is on how we organize this defense that the future of our country will depend. The line of battle for socialism must be the understandings which our party line has

carried out patiently and relentlessly. In our Warsaw party organization it is and will continue to be the battle line opposing all those who are against the ideals of working people, the patriotic aspirations of Poles, and the interests of our country.

#### Discussion

It is difficult to sum up the presentations of the several dozen speakers, who took the floor at the plenum of the Warsaw Committee of the PZPR. It is difficult to describe them in one sentence. There is no doubt as to one thing: all the voices pointed out the need to take immediate concrete steps to arrest the further anarchization of life, the deterioration of the economy, and the escalation of moves by antisocialist forces.

These matters were discussed with care and concern. Representatives of party organizations of various plants described the conditions they faced in their daily work. The party echelons today are being attacked by "anybody at all who wants to." Often the attacks are crude and vulgar. In this situation party members expect the leadership to support them. They expect definite action and arguments in defense of the party line. There was bitterness in the words of people when they told of how they were not receiving such support. The party is forever in upheaval. "Who told us where the Stop sign is?" someone asked.

There was also bitterness in the recounting of how the opportunity which had been created by the Ninth Party Congress had not been utilized. After the congress there had been renewal in the party organizations. People believed it when they were told it was possible to carry out the program of the congress and to get out of the vicious cycle of impotence. Those hopes were not fulfilled. The correct program of the congress, a program accepted by the members of the party, is not being carried out. One of the parties to the discussion stated that one of the reasons for this is that many comrades simply went on vacation after the congress, instead of energetically going into action.

The speakers pointed out that it is essential that a clear statement be made of what sort of socialism we wish to implement in Poland. At the present time we are dealing not with a line of understanding for which everyone is responsible but with "a line of unilateral concessions."

The building of party unity is a basic issue. Plant organization secretaries talked about how party members were turning in their party membership cards. These are often valuable, idealistic people who are disappointed and discouraged. On the other hand, the party still has those people who have nothing in common with its ideology and principles. The party should get rid of them. Party members' self-definition is essential. It was emphasized that we must know who we are with and who is with us. Only then do we have a chance in the political struggle.



A great deal of the discussion was devoted to the issues of youth, the upbringing of young people, and the values in which they are immersed. Young people are shocked by antistate, antisocialist, and anti-Soviet propaganda. We must take a decisive stance against anti-Soviet statements.

One of the women taking part in the discussion said that there were in our country 600,000 graves of Soviet soldiers who brought us freedom. Wherever our Polish tradition is, Catholic tradition honors the places of final repose. Our Polish graves are scattered all over the world. How would we feel if these graves were dishonored?

Many people talked about the issues of economic reform and the conditions under which we came to implement it. In the plants there is a shortage of everything: shoes, clothing, washing agents, to say nothing of the raw materials. For example, "Zelmot" [Automotive Electronics Plants] has not received a single kilowatt of power, because its quota for this year has been exhausted. People also mentioned the problems of the market, preparations for winter, and the functioning of urban services, along with all the issues directly related to the living conditions of the residents of Warsaw and the voivodship.

There are many problems for today, and especially for yesterday. For this reason all efforts must be focused on carrying out the problem set down by the Ninth Party Congress and on counteracting certain processes which have adversely impacted economic, social, and political life.

So much for a very abbreviated account of the course of discussion. The issues brought up in the discussion were commented on by Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Central Committee secretary and member of the Politburo, in his speech. For example, he said that the party leadership is aware of the shortcomings and even errors in its operations, but it is operating in a specific, very difficult, complicated situation. Sometimes it is necessary to make a choice between the lesser of two evils. The causes of the party's weakness are to be found back in the pre-August period. The ranks of the party were overexpanded, and during the 1970's the party became disarmed politically.

We have a tremendous opportunity to get out of the crisis in which our country has plunged. This opportunity is the implementation of the program of the Ninth Party Congress.

Kazimierz Barcikowski also referred to many detailed questions and responded to some queries which had come up during the discussion. He also said that many of the matters which had been raised by the speakers would be taken up by the promised plenum of the Central Committee.

## Provisions of the Resolution

In the capital-city voivodship, as everywhere else in the country, there is a growing wave of social conflict and tension, according to the resolution. The direct cause of them is the exceptionally difficult economic situation and the catastrophic shortage of basic foodstuffs, medicines, washing agents, and so on. The social tensions are being made worse by the confrontational tactics of the extremist current of "Solidarity," an aggressive political battle. The only chance of slowing down and reversing the adverse trends is the consistent implementation of the program line of the Ninth Party Congress, a line of party agreement and dialogue not with the enemies of socialism but with all progressive social forces which are expressing the desire to get rid of the sources of the crisis, the desire to democratize social relations, to deepen social justice, and to come to a mutual understanding on the foundation of the socialist path to the development of the country. It is the exceptional duty of all patriots, in and outside the party, to enter the struggle against the gravest threats facing the socialist state.

The resolution also lists the tasks for the party organization to undertake, in order to create political conditions for the consolidation of the party ranks and for the simultaneous rebuilding of the party's moral authority.

## Plenum Presents Tasks

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Oct 81 pp 1,7

[Article: "Current Tasks of the Capital-City Party Organization; Plenum of the Warsaw Committee Plenum of the PZPR"]

[Text] (Our own information) Yesterday, the 12th of this month, the deliberations of the plenum of the PZPR Warsaw Committee, attended by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Politburo member Albin Siwak, and deputy member of the Politburo Jan Glowczyk, began. The subject of the deliberations, which were chaired by Stanislaw Kociolek, First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, was a current assessment of the sociopolitical situation and the party organization tasks implied therefrom.

Voivodship Committee secretary Jerzy Boleslawski gave the executive board report, which served as the basis for discussion. The result of the discussion will help in working out the concrete program of action for the Warsaw echelons and party organizations vis-a-vis the growing political struggle and the economic complex of Warsaw and the country, which continues to be difficult. The discussion will continue today.

In our country there is a growing political struggle inspired by anti-communist subversive elements from the West. Forces inimical to socialism have used the working people's justified dissatisfactions and the numerous blunders committed by the authorities to draw into their plots the broad ranks of society, including young people. Thinking in terms of the principle, the worse the better, they have been paralyzing all efforts and moves to normalize life in our country. There has been an attack on the foundations of the existence of our state; our alliance with the Soviet Union, and there are leaflets and fliers being disseminated which are designed to evoke hatred for the peoples to whom we are linked by virtue of our joint struggle and later reconstruction. This is not because of a lack of political imagination but due to conscious effort.

The attacks continue on the party, which is opposing antisocialist actions, but the lack of effectiveness of the authorities' actions has encouraged the forces of the right wing to also go into subversion and political terror. The phenomenon in the work establishments is severe.

The motives for these actions are clear. It is a question of creating an atmosphere which is hostile to party activists and also of distracting attention of the mass membership of "Solidarity" and of the whole society away from the essence of the union's program, which, as the speech put it, is a negation and blockade of all attempts to overcome the economic crisis.

The congress of the "Solidarity" trade union made it evident that by using demagoguery the rightwing representatives are using the trade-union movement to obtain political dominance and undermine the program of the Ninth Party Congress, a program which was a comprehensive offer of social agreement and the joint overcoming of the political, social, and economic crisis, according to the report.

The group of political activists operating in the capital in the lowest elements of the PZPR is opposing these pressures, but sometimes it struggles in isolation, amazed by erroneous decisions or unconvincing decisions made by the authorities. As the speech emphasized, it is fighting not against "Solidarity" but for the working-class nature of this union. Many comrades in the work establishments are aware that it is necessary to put an end to anarchy and destruction in order to create a climate in which it is possible to implement the socialist line of social agreement, and there can be no agreement with groups fighting against socialism, the report of the executive board says.

Today it is necessary for the party activist group and echelons to have a more decisive profile in discharging their control functions. There is need for greater POP [Basic Party Organization] interest in issues related to the functioning of the socialist enterprise and the employee self-government and in activity to explain the consequences of actions which paralyze the operation of the economic and state administration.

The crisis has a political foundation. For this reason it is necessary publically to expose the real initiators and organizers of the newly created groups and political directions originating in anticommunist doctrines. On the other hand, all the POPs and all the members of the party must describe their attitude about the sociopolitical phenomena in the country. Those who want to escape this should turn in their membership cards.

At the end of the report, the executive board assesses the economic situation in the capital and the state of its preparations for a period which will be difficult this year, winter.

#### Discussion

Two currents came up in the discussion, one which was critical and tried to bring about a reckoning, and one which sought solutions today as never before to difficult sociopolitical problems. Many parties to the discussion accused the party leadership of operating in isolation from the mass membership and of avoiding consultation with the public. It was pointed out that after the Ninth Party Congress, the party echelons got farther away from the POPs, leaving work establishment party activists on their own, often leaving them to fight for ideological principles without current arguments. While the working forces are bombarded with rightwing leaflets and fliers, the party elements often have no reliable information from their own echelons. On the other hand, some comrades who took the floor in the discussion pointed out that there are those organizations in which vacations were set up after the Ninth Party Congress. This also applies to a certain extent to the Warsaw echelon, which did not determine the membership for the problem-related committees until just now.

All PZPR members should be required to make a clear ideological declaration. How can we verify the party ranks? The views are divided. Some comrades are proposing that new party membership cards be issued, while other people feel that those who do not pass will drop out of the action.

Much attention was given to contacts between the party organizations and the elements of "Solidarity," emphasizing that PZPR is not fighting against the trade union but against that nature of the organization which has nothing in common with working-class interests. What is needed is a line of agreement, dialogue, but not with those who spit on us and turn their backs on us, the people said in the discussion.

What the party leadership and the government need is consistent action from the position of a clearly specified strategy. Conclusions should be drawn from reverses suffered, and work should be done to prepare politically a society which today is getting lost in the informational hum, as it is called.

What is needed is party unity in the workplace and in the leadership. In order not to give the initiative to adversaries, in order to be able to counteract the extended political crisis.



PZPR Warsaw Committee Resolution

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Oct 81 p7

[Resolution of the PZPR Warsaw Committee, dated 14 Oct 1981]

[Text] The Warsaw Committee affirms that in the voivodship of the capital-city of Warsaw, as elsewhere in the country, there is a growing wave of social conflicts and tension, caused by the exceptionally difficult economic situation and its accompanying catastrophic shortage of basic foodstuffs, medicines, washing agents, and so on. The social tensions are being made worse by the confrontation tactics of the extremist current of "Solidarity," a political battle which is aggressive in nature, a battle calculated to upset the economic and political structures of the socialist state. The consequences of this development of the situation are the disintegration of human relations, a growing sense of danger on the part of the citizenry, and social demoralization. The continuation of these trends will inevitably lead to the outbreak of uncontrolled conflicts and even a national catastrophe.

The Warsaw Committee confirms the opinion generally expressed in the Warsaw party organization that the only chance to slow and reverse these adverse trends is the consistent implementation of the program line of the Ninth Party Congress, one of party agreement and dialogue, not with those against socialist but with all progressive social forces expressing the desire to eliminate the sources of the crisis, to democratize social relations, to deeper social justice, and to extend understanding on the basis of the socialist path of development of the country. For millions of Poles inside and outside the party, the long-range prospects given by the Ninth Party Congress were and still are the hope for the normalization of living and working conditions, but there is the general opinion that the development of events after the congress are systematically undermining this hope. The state and party leadership at various levels, including those in Warsaw, have after all not inculcated the Congress resolutions by all means correctly made and accepted by the society to the extent necessary to arrest adverse processes in economic, social, and political life and to eliminate the causes of the negative phenomena. Nor has it been successful in focussing on the program of the Ninth Party Congress all the constructive social forces, including those of the party.

The Warsaw Committee affirms that it is the opinion of party members that the causes of these failures are to be found mainly in the slack nature of the actions of party officials, in their inconsistency, and in their lack of decisiveness in carrying out for the most part correct decisions and provisions. Such behavior does not objectively restrict the adversaries of the socialist system. It solidifies their conviction of impunity and makes it easier for them to carry out their plans and reach their goals. It inevitably leads to the disintegration of economic, social, and political structures and makes it impossible to implement the reforms.



Such behavior also endangers the very existence of the party, which has become still weaker in the recent period. Within the ranks of the party there is growing distrust of the possibility of overcoming the crisis. Faith in the party leadership and its ability to overcome the enemies of socialism in the political battle which the latter have thrust on society is dying.

The Warsaw Committee is expressing as well its conviction that various bodies of the state administration, including the Warsaw echelon, have failed to do all they could to ease the consequences of the crisis in the realm of living conditions. Frequently subjective difficulties are being hidden by objectively existing ones. The Warsaw officials are being called upon to bring about clear improvement in market supply, at least for milk and breadstuffs, and in the functioning of urban transportation. Shortcomings in the operation of urban services and administration should not be tolerated by the capital's party echelons under any circumstances.

The Warsaw Committee states that it is the inevitable duty of all patriots, inside and outside the party, to fight against the greatest dangers facing the socialist state. Here what is needed is a decisive stance on the part of the leading centers of power, along with the execution of constitutional legal order, and severe penal sanctions for anyone violating the law. This is a basic condition to law and order, a condition to the leadership's moral authority and authenticity.

There can be no tolerating those forces which openly prove unfaithful to the social agreement of August 1980 or any concessions to their demands. The Warsaw Committee of the PZPR is expecting the Fourth Central Committee Plenum to use the provisions of the statute of guarantees for the consistent implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress. It is only on this platform that the shaping of political agreements may take place.

The Warsaw Committee affirms that in the current socioeconomic situation it is essential to pursue action to activate and discipline party ranks and restore respect for statutory standards. It is essential to this end to rid the party of those who violate the norms of its internal life, or moral or ideological principles. It is also necessary absolutely and to the end to bring matters to a process of clearing the accounts and providing public opinion with current information. The tasks facing the party can be implemented only by ideologically cohesive and organizationally efficient echelons and elements.

The Warsaw Committee feels that during the upcoming period all party echelons and organizations should focus their efforts on the following, above all:

--the struggle against manifestations of anarchy and chaos and against efforts calculated to dismantle social, political, and economic structure;

--the organization of steps to insure bearable living conditions for the residents of the urban center of the capital city and the functioning of Warsaw during the winter, and to arrest the decline in production and restore labor discipline;

--decisive countering of attempts to shift the costs of the crisis to the shoulders of families of low and moderate means, with the involvement of people employed in the socialized economy;

--the mobilization of a battle front to fight manifestations of violation of the principles of social justice in all its forms, especially in using speculation for purposes of financial gain using legal loopholes in the system of relationships between the socialized economy and private enterprise, and so on;

--the support of effective and efficient actions by the state and economic administration to help normalize socioeconomic life and at the same time to combat inability in management and leadership;

--social concern for young people, especially young families.

It is the conviction of the Warsaw Committee that these tasks are those which the party organizations and echelons must undertake to create the political conditions for consolidating the ranks of the party and at the same time for building up their moral authority and position in the community in which they operate.

The Warsaw Committee is calling on members of the Central Committee from the Warsaw Party Organization to bring these views and concerns to the forum of the very next plenary session of the Central Committee.

PZPR Warsaw Committee

Warsaw

14 October 1981

10790

CSO: 2600/134

SOLIDARITY LEADERS REJECT CONCILIATION PLATFORM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6

[Report by "bgw:" "Acting Against National Interests, 'Solidarity' Leaders, Conferring in Gdansk on Saturday, Reject Platform of Conciliation"]

[Text] The second day of the proceedings of the National Commission of the NSZZ Solidarity did not produce any cooling off of emotions. The escalation of charges leveled against the authorities and the constitutional order goes on.

Although a few experts warned the National Commission against pursuing a policy geared toward confrontation, a majority of the union's activists turned deaf ears to these appeals to common sense.

For example, Patrycjusz Kosmowski from Bielsko claimed that it is already high time to kick the party committees out of the workplaces and that a program should be put together for a provisional government so that we will be ready for the moment.... "When the present government will be lying face down in the street...."

Mr Karwowski from Slodciawek went on to say that it is necessary to cut the government off from those workplaces on which it relies for support and then "...it will be necessary to overthrow it."

Antoni Kopaczowski did not mince words when he said that, "...we have reached a critical point and either we take over the government or we go to Siberia."

Wladyslaw Frasnyniuk from Wroclaw was one of the few speakers who spoke in a somewhat more critical vein with reference to Solidarity's policies. He observed that a debate was underway about big-league politics and that some people were dreaming about winning seats in the Sejm, and yet nobody knows anything about ordinary work planning or about how to set up workers self-management bodies. However, this line of argument did not arouse any interest among the members of the National Commission. The problem of self-management was addressed in different tones.

Andrzej Rozplochowski from Silesia charged: "The communists have already made a mess of self-management, and that is why we should send the party packing."

Andrzej Gwiazda, who was elected as chairman of the Resolutions and Petitions Committee, presented some draft resolutions.

The key resolution on the union's strategy and tactics is based on the familiar "Radom line," so it amounts to a kind of ultimatum to the government and to the people and, as such, represents an outright rejection of the platform of national conciliation. Once again, during the course of the debate on whether or not to pass this resolution, no appeals were made to common sense. Rather the only argument was whether this resolution was "too soft" or whether it took a stiff enough "stand" against the government.

The tone of total negativism and severe and relentless criticism of everything that had anything to do with the government led to the modification and eventual acceptance of this resolution, the author of which was Jan Rulewski. This document asserted that the passage of a law on trade unions in any version other than the one recommended by Solidarity and the granting to the government of full powers of arbitration would lead to the declaration of a general strike. This document also advocates something which is utterly astounding--the creation of a commissioner's office in charge of the holding of a national referendum on the subject of...the system governing the exercise of political power, and the document further obliges the National Commission to hold such a national referendum by 15 February!

The culmination of all this ill will, of this refusal to live in the real world, of this by now open hatred for socialist Poland, in other words the last straw, was the endorsement by the National Commission of a statement made by Karol Modzelewski in which he roundly criticized the way in which the government and the country are run.

So, in an atmosphere of antisocialist euphoria and hysteria instigated by certain veteran political hucksters it came to pass that the "Radom line," which runs counter to our national interests, was reaffirmed. The Solidarity National Commission has set itself above the Constitution and the law. It has come out in favor of a confrontation that runs counter to the interests of the people and the socialist state.

11813

CSO: 2600/166

## ZSL HOLDS REPORT-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6

[Article by Pawel Zaborowski]

[Text] Reports-election meetings have been held in more than half of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] caucuses. These meetings represent the first phase of the political campaign leading up to the 9th Special Congress of the ZSL. The next phases of this campaign will be the gmina congresses, which have already gotten under way in some regions, and the party's voivodship congresses.

The high priority given to this current campaign in the work of the ZSL is attested to by the fact that as a part of this campaign a debate is underway on the preliminary drafts of the ZSL's ideological manifesto and its platform and statute. All local ZSL organizations are supposed to make a contribution to producing the finalized versions of these documents.

The meetings of these basic party organizations are of fundamental importance to strengthening the position of the ZSL, and, at the same time, they are playing an important role in the life of rural areas and the national as a whole. The debate that is now underway at this level is giving ZSL members an opportunity to express their views both on matters related to the current activities of their peasant party and also on the subject of the country's current political and socioeconomic situation.

So far during this debate a great deal of attention has been devoted to the issues of the independence of the ZSL, the need to establish genuinely partner-like relations between the PZPR and the ZSL, and creating a larger role for ZSL representatives in governmental administrative bodies and in the management of various institutions and organizations. There is a fairly widely held view that the democratization process has filtered down to the gmina level only to a very limited degree. While bearing this in mind, however, participants in the reports-election meetings have expressed praise for the work being done by the local operations groups of the people's Polish Army.

During these meetings frequent references were made to the need for ZSL authorities at the national and voivodship levels to display greater initiative in the process of finding solutions to current problems and in the quest for ways to extricate ourselves from the present difficult political and economic situation.



With regard to the ZSL's action programs the participants in these meetings are pointing out the necessity for the ZSL to take a clearcut stand in favor of collaboration with all private farmers' professional organizations.

There is no point in making a secret of the fact that the meetings going on in the party caucuses have also called attention to the problem of apathetic attitudes on the part of some ZSL members. In the opinion of ZSL activists this is attributable to, among other things, the critical assessment of the implementation of the joint guidelines adopted in January 1981 by the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the ZSL NK [National Committee?] Presidium concerning crucial problems affecting agrarian policy, agriculture, and the food economy. As is apparent in light of the ongoing debate, it is expected that governmental and economic management authorities should be taking more effective actions in this area.

11813

CSO: 2000/164

## NZS POLITICAL ACTIVITY CRITICIZED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 11-13 Dec 81 p 5

[Article by Jerzy Godula: "Where Are the Students?"]

[Text] The period of leniency is about to end. More than a year and a half has passed since August 1980. What at that time was young and barely able to fly should have well-developed wings now. It should now be able to function smoothly to accomplish chosen goals. It is worthwhile to look at all the youth organizations, independent and self-governing, that are supposedly by definition better than those existing before.

I followed the development of the Independent Association of Students [NZS] fairly closely due to my journalistic duties. I wrote--on occasion, with insufficient detail through no fault of mine--about a succession of imbroglios with the registration of this organization and later about the actual forms of its activity. I went to the First NZS Congress, held in Krakow in early April.

1.

The entanglements with the NZS's registration were clarified at the congress. The delegates themselves proved that the new student organization had not been repressed by the authorities but, in fact, the NZS activists had spread nonsense about repression.

Without informing the membership, they deleted from the statute of the organization an article stating that the NZS would observe the provisions of the Polish People's Republic [PRL] in its activities. Then they waited to see how the authorities would respond. Of course, the minister did not want to register an organization that did not intend to stay within the bounds of the constitution.

The NZS membership firmly believed that the statute contained an article referring to Poland's fundamental law. That was the statute they had signed. How then, could the minister demand that the statute be completed? What was the point? These were the questions that many people asked themselves because, after all, not everybody was likely to get the successive versions of the statute and be informed in detail on the progress of talks between the ministry and the NZS National Founding Committee [OKZ].

How can one term this move of NZS's leading activists? It should be called just what it was--a provocation addressed to the authorities and a fraud offered as a "free gift" to the membership. What gains were there in it? There were many--including raising discontent in the student community toward the ministerial authorities or, more broadly, the government and the party. Not only the student community was involved, since, in fact, the whole nation was concerned about the poor students who were being harassed, though they merely wanted to conduct apolitical, independent union activity.

2.

It is also worth realizing that the demand for registration of the association was the chief reason for a protracted student strike in Lodz, which is paradoxical in the light of the facts. Hurriedly added to that demand were many other demands of the students and society at large--hurriedly, because some of those demands indicated that the students were ignorant of fundamental legal acts, while others actually defeated the purposes of academic youth.

Not all the Lodz demands were nonsensical. Several have certainly brought in much new into the realities of academic or social life. Still, the demands for which it was (?) possible to "come to terms" without the "protocol of differences" could have been settled without a strike. That settlement would have come somewhat later, but it would have come with certainty.

When the association had been registered, numerous leaflets and bulletins made truculent claims that the minister registered the organization solely because of the pressure from the Lodz strike. The strike was, therefore, indispensable. Unfortunately, the minister registered the NZS because its activists finally deigned to return to the membership the original text of the statute with a reference to the constitution. It is a paradox that the minister who was so denigrated by the members of the association had actually been concerned with their vital interests.

3.

No attempts at constructive action are seen in the association's activities to date--constructive meaning such action that, on the one hand, can contribute to solving the problems besetting the students and, on the other hand, to expanding the student youth's role in society's life. I will not try to prove this thesis broadly, offering instead a few examples.

The first example is the students' problems. Following the Lodz strike, the Commission for Contacts with Student Organizations was formed. In the history of Poland's higher school system, this is the first forum composed of representatives of particular ministries, mandated to review any demands submitted by student organizations--to review and also to devise, jointly with the young people's representatives, appropriate solutions and make decisions.

Prior to the summer vacation, four sessions with NZS participation were held by the commission. What did those representatives of students who belonged to the association want to discuss? They wanted to talk about political prisoners, repression against the organization's activists, the association's inner

organizational matters like financing, a periodical publication, official passports for activists. These are undoubtedly important issues, though frequently purely subjective, but are these really the issues that the representatives of numerous student association are interested in?

Observing the bulk of very long and laborious deliberations of the Commission for Contacts with Student Organizations, I noticed that typical union matters had no attraction for the association's representatives. During those sessions they have played the part of young persons who know everything best. They are the only ones who want, and are able, to set our country right. Views of other people are of no account, they are not even worth knowing.

Another example is the role of student youth in society. What is the association doing so that the students become a ranking social group, with some influence over the course of public matters? The association is doing much to put the students in disrepute. It creates no new patterns for action adapted to the current conditions. It is seeking support from emotions rather than from reflection and prudence, as becomes the devotees of scholarship. It does not teach the courage to voice one's own views even, or perhaps especially, at times when they "run counter to a currently mandated trend."

After all, we are living in a period where an ability to discuss, persuade, win support for some view and change the situation by evolution is becoming the most important ability. This alone helps to protect the values generated in the wake of August 1980. Violent shocks are fine but not in every circumstance. The circumstances do not favor shock therapy on a national scale. What is the NZS doing in this setting? It proclaims strikes.

This needs another qualification--I oppose strikes except when other, more intellectual forms of protest have been exhausted. I cannot support a student strike of whose genuine causes I am informed afterward. A strike caused by repeated postponement of the deadline on submission of the draft law on higher schools to the Sejm is well-founded, but I will not give my support to the strike in connection with the WSI [Higher School of Engineering] in Radom.

I will not support that strike because it was proclaimed in the defense of those who provided the initial impulse for breaking the societal contract under which the school is bound to operate. That impulse consisted in an attempt to eliminate the head of the Radom school from a list of candidates for the rector position. Yet the social contract--that is, the draft law on higher schools--clearly states that "the rector, proctors, dean and assistant deans cannot be elected for the same position for a period exceeding two consecutive terms."

The present rector of the Radom WSI was never elected but appointed; thus he met the conditions for candidacy. This is the letter of the social contract and there are no reasons to violate it. In the course of time it was broken by a succession of partners, including the minister, but the social conflicts should be blamed on those who started--or, to put it differently, provoked--them.

4.

To return to the NZS, everything seems to indicate that strike actions are the association's specialty. When registering the organization, the NZS OKZ activists declared that there was a need for legal regulation of the strike issue. The point was to allow a proclamation of an occupation strike--when other ways of solving a conflict are already exhausted--to take place after it is accepted by a majority of students participating in a special assembly, convened under an agreement with the school authorities. The concern here was also about those who do not join a strike being able to attend regular classes.

The minister prepared an appropriate regulation, but the association activists did not accept it. They proposed the declaration of a strike to be tantamount to an automatic suspension of all classes, regardless of the number of those striking. This is, unfortunately, what is happening. To be sure, students engage in volunteer social work and attend unscheduled classes during strikes, but they are not studying the problems they should be studying in their chosen fields.

5.

Until now, the public has known very little about NZS activity. The public knows about the exhibit of so-called independent publications at the Warsaw Technical University [Politechnika] where offensive cartoons of Soviet leaders were displayed, about protest marches to defend political prisoners, about various actions whose organizers do not conceal their antisocialist attitudes and downright enmity toward the government, the party and all those forces that want the principles of socialism to be fully effective in our social life.

The public does not know whether the organization remembers the problems of daily living directly interesting the students, because such problems are barely marginal in the NZS activities.

Are the tens of thousands of NZS student members conducting antisocialist and anti-Soviet activity, contrary to the law and the statute of the association? Most certainly they are not. Pleading the students' cause, this is being done by a handful of activists from the central board and from particular schools. They refer to themselves, though not always openly, as opponents of the system under which they are living. To be an opponent of the system is something totally different from being an opponent of specific, detrimental features in the public life.

The association still does not have a program of its own. It is time for a program of this kind, reflecting genuine aspirations of all NZS members, to be developed. Otherwise, the activities of this organization will continue to be directed by small groups of activists or whom personal ambitions and thoughts are most important, rather than the interests of the student community and the whole society.

8795

CSD: 2600/111



MINISTERIAL CONCEPT OF EDUCATION COUNCIL PRESENTED

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 22 Nov 81 p3

[Article: "Concept of the Social Council on Education and Upbringing"]

[Text] I am sending a concept by the Social Council on Education and Upbringing, as drafted at the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, and I am asking that it be published and that you weekly conduct a discussion in its columns. We are planning to have social consultation on the draft up to the end of this year.

If the editors want to take up the matter, I would be grateful to have you successively send me all the letters of readers who make a statement on the subject of a Social Council on Education and Upbringing.

Minister of Education and Upbringing  
Boleslaw Faron

From the editors: We are convinced that the subject will really evoke the interest of our readers. Of course, all the letters on this subject which come in will be sent on, and we also commit ourselves to using some of them in our columns.

There is a broadly felt need to create a plan for the systematic expression of public opinion on the current needs of education and upbringing and on the directions of its further development. This plan could also be the source for seeking assistance for various persons, institutions, and organization on the behalf of education and upbringing facilities and schools, awakening social instances of initiative in this regard.

The demands of the social environment, especially the teachers trade unions, imply the expectations of creating such a plan. This is also expressed in the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, recommending the consideration of creating an education council.

In connection with the above, a Social Council on Education and Upbringing will be created at the Ministry of Education and Upbringing. Similar councils could be created, if there is need for them, at the level of the voivodships, cities, gminas, and even schools. These councils will have the function of giving opinions, consulting, and initiating.

The purposes of the Social Council on Education and Upbringing are:

- to integrate the society around the needs of education and upbringing,
- to express social expectations (present conclusions concerning the education and upbringing for the needs of the economy, culture, and social life),
- to help the Council of Ministers and Education Administration in the realm of directing and administering education,
- to give opinions on drafts of the major undertakings concerning current work and future intentions in the area of education and upbringing,
- to exercise social control to monitor the functioning of the system of education and upbringing to see that it is proper and coincides with social needs.

The whole system of problems of instruction and upbringing, along with the plans for development in this area, is the subject of interest of the Social Council on Education and Upbringing, especially the following:

- the effectiveness of the work of the schools and the teachers,
- general targets of the curricula, content of textbooks and other learning aids,
- problems of the upbringing and care of children and youth,
- pedagogical progress,
- living and working conditions of teachers and their professional education and continuing development,
- material conditions of the functioning and development of education,
- direction and management of the system of education and upbringing,
- scientific research on behalf of education and upbringing.

The council will be made up of personally appointed people considered to be authorities in the area of science, education, culture, the national economy, or else in socio-political life; members of creative associations, scientific societies, and social organizations.

Sitting on the councils at the lower levels (voivodship, cities, gminas, and especially schools) will be people recognized in their own communities, coming from local scientific institutions, work places, social organizations, and the community of families and teachers.

The Social Council on Education and Upbringing at the central level should be appointed by the premier at the request of the Minister of Education and Upbringing. At the voivodship level, the appointment will be made by the voivodship governor at the request of the superintendent of education and upbringing. In the cities and towns (gminas), the mayor or head will appoint the council at the request of the inspectors of education and upbringing, just as in the schools he will do so at the request of the principals. It needs to be resolved as to whether at the school level the council should not be expanded in membership and charge to include the tasks of the existing parent committees and upbringing committees. The pedagogical councils should operate independently of the social councils on education and upbringing.

In all cases the creation of the councils should come only after there has been broad social consultation as to both the usefulness of appointing a council in a concrete instance and as to the membership it should have. Owing to the lack of experience, the first term of the councils appointed should not be longer than 3 years. The councils could have their own regulations.

The council will be directed by a chairman elected from among its members. It seems useful to constitute boards (at least in the councils for the minister and superintendent) for the effective working of the council. The council will operate on the basis of a plan which it constructs itself. The plan is drafted for each term and for periods of a year. The operations of the council will be revealed in general meetings, the work of commissions, and other groups (sections, problem-based groups, working groups), in the drafting of analyses and expert reports, and in the organizing of the local community to assist the schools and education and upbringing facilities.

The funds necessary for the council's activities are to be assured in the budget of the school administration unit at the appropriate level. These units serve as the council's office organization. The Social Council on Education and Upbringing should exist independently of the collegium of the Minister of Education and Upbringing and the Inter-ministry Collegium on Trade School Matters. In the voivodship it will be independent of the Collegium of the superintendent of education and upbringing, and the same will be true in towns and gminas. The further continuation of other councils, groups, and commissions at various levels of the education administration needs to be considered.

The Committee on National Education will be created to develop the future system of education and upbringing.

10790

CSO: 2600/158

## OPINIONS ON HIGHER SCHOOLS LAW EXPRESSED

### Background Examined

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Dec 81 p 3

[Text] Parliamentary debate of the draft law on higher schools has started. As is known, in accordance with the desires of academic communities this is the so-called social draft prepared by a codification commission which has in practice incorporated in its proposals the concepts resulting from discussions in various communities, associations and organizations. This is why the draft law includes many compromises and controversial regulations. Not only the government but various institutions, trade unions and student organizations have volunteered their remarks.

Working teams, where the members of parliament are going over particular chapters of the draft, must outline the ultimate content of this document. This will certainly be done by seeking the opinion of all interested parties. Therefore, the discussion over the draft law on higher schools goes on. We have solicited some remarks from the representatives of higher schools.

### Interview with Jagiellonian University Rector

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Dec 81 p 3

[Interview with Professor Dr Jozef Gierowski, rector of the Jagiellonian University (UJ); by Ryszarda Moszczenska: "Self-government Is Not Based on Full Autonomy"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] The draft law on higher schools has been formulated under the powerful influence of the Jagiellonian University. Which segments of the draft are the work of scholars from Krakow?

[Answer] Our impact has been the greatest in regulations associated with labor relations, which include the concepts of Prof Sylwester Wojcik and Docent [Assistant Professor] Boguslaw Gawlik, members of the codification commission. We have also contributed a lot to chapter 1 of the draft on general assumptions and to the chapter defining the structure of the school. In principle, it is difficult to attribute something to us and something else to say, the University of Warsaw. We have discussed each article of the draft, we all have been looking for the best solutions.



[Question] However, the Jagiellonian University has introduced its own draft law; what has been its impact on the final version?

[Answer] That draft of ours was also based on other elaborations, among them, the famous theses prepared by the codification commission. We contributed primarily the desire to consider the entire scope of issues in the higher school system. The concept of self-government, from the Main Council on down to faculty and institute councils originated in our Faculty of Philosophy and History as long ago as October of last year.

[Question] Inasmuch as nobody questions self-government of higher schools, many objections, without saying the word disquiet, have been raised by the concept of the Main Council on Science and Higher Schools, the highest collective body.

[Answer] The Main Council is not exactly a new concept; there has always been the Main Council on Science, Higher Schools and Technology, whose functions have been advisory. We are suggesting that it assume the decision-making, consultative and revocatory functions as well, much as the senate of a school.

[Question] Therefore, it weakens the position of the minister [of higher schools]... On November 27, during the first reading of the draft in the parliament, somebody said that it would be better to honestly declare in the draft that the minister is redundant rather than assign him the role of a fig leaf.

[Answer] Everything boils down to trust. The concept of the draft proceeds from the experience of recent years. Should the minister be an intermediary between us and the government, should he, being a professor, consider himself a representative of the academic community and be committed to its defense, rather than to overseeing and, on top of that, overseeing in line with the interests and views of the government, then there might be less effort to insure against one-man decisions.

Let us dot all "i"s. There have been voices in the codification commission in favor of abolishing the post of minister. If the higher school system were involved in education alone, this could be a valid alternative. However, it is also involved in science, therefore, there must be somebody to plan and coordinate scientific activity.

Furthermore, I do not think that the draft law is too restrictive as far as the responsibilities of the minister are concerned. He has full initiative in bringing up issues.

Moreover, the minister supervises schools, he can require the school organs to provide explanations in any matter, he can suspend the senate decision on the grounds of it being contrary to the law and transfer it to the consideration of the council. In a word, the minister suggests and plans, the council confirms. Such decisions should be more correct and to the point than those made by one person. It would be good if the minister would identify with the main council; I would also be in favor of joint government by the minister and the council. I know that this is too idealistic a concept, but it deserves a try... I do not imagine that a chancellor can fail to cooperate with the senate, because if something is to be achieved, it can only be done in agreement with the academic community rather than in spite of it.

[Question] In case of a conflict, is the Council of State to mediate?

[Answer] This can be considered later. Already there has been a precedent. Representatives of the conference of chancellors have taken the matter of the Higher School of Engineering (WSI) to Radon to the prime minister.

[Question] Placing science before education is also seen as a drawback of the draft law.

[Answer] The higher school differs from the high and elementary school in that it conducts scientific research. The essence of a decent higher school is in researching first and disseminating next. I would admit I do not know what cause might be served by reversing the order of these activities, just as if the universities were to bring down a disaster on [full-time] science. The schools have a larger research potential and they are closer to real life. Anyway, our concept of the Main Council offered in the Jagiellonian University was a little bit different: it was to include representatives of schools, research centers and institutes as well as the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN). This would be an areopag of people embracing the entire scope of science; the composition of the council would be changeable; this would insure the infusion of thought and concepts, their novelty and openness.

[Question] Would the chancellor agree with the opinion that the upper limits of student admissions should be determined centrally, since this is what the interest of the economy requires?

[Answer] To my mind, the lower limits are important. If determined in accordance with the needs of the economy, they safeguard its interests in the best way. The apprehension that a school will train too many persons is comprehensible; however, this can be adjusted by, for example, allocating the funds geared to the desirable student contingents.

[Question] And, by the same token, is it correct to have partially unified programs of education for particular fields of study?

[Answer] On this point, I may yield. Already there are tendencies of carrying the individualization in drawing up programs and curriculum too far. When I was a student, this problem was solved in a different way: to become a bachelor, one had to pass a certain number of exams in basic subjects for a certain field, on top of other exams of course. In this way, unified fundamentals of educating graduates in the same field but in different schools were ensured.

[Question] The demand of an eight-week vacation for the academic instructors--is it not exorbitant?

[Answer] In general, I cannot imagine a scientist who does nothing and relaxes for two months. Something else is the issue here; assistants and adjuncts are incredibly overworked, especially in instruction. Spare time, at any rate the eight weeks, must be ensured for them in order to relax and carry out academic activities of their own. If we rigidly determine the time for a relaxing vacation and for their research activity, they will begin to behave like officials, they will do research only in the time so designated for them. This is unthinkable.

[Question] The National Council of Young Academic Employees thinks that the draft law is far from the ideal and demands that their problems be dealt with. Have those been overlooked?

[Answer] I suppose that the main issues are the situation of adjuncts and assistants and the issue of rotation. The draft law gives an assistant eight years to write a doctoral dissertation. (They used to say that it is too much time, now, it turns out that it is not enough...) Adjuncts, in their turn, are subject to rotation (extensions of the contract every several years) or stabilization by receiving nomination. The opportunity for conferring the degree of docent non-habilitatus will also be presented, which is especially essential in technical schools.

The draft law, therefore, safeguards the interests of schools so that they might shape their cadres, keep the best and let the less able go. In a majority of schools, a great infusion of workers occurred in the mid-1970s, a majority of them have written dissertations and, for example, we now have an immense number of adjuncts in the Jagiellonian University, about 600, or two times the number of independent scientific workers. What are we to do with them, anyway, not all of them will become assistant professors and professors? The new ones keep coming, the younger ones, sometimes more gifted, more needed by the school...

[Question] Larger schools with rich academic traditions certainly can handle self-government and autonomy. But can we grant all these privileges to new, less experienced schools without apprehension?

[Answer] Self-government...is not based on full autonomy. The members of the codification commission were aware of the fact that self-government can be abused, that it can become a mere front, that it can serve as the defense for weak individuals. Therefore, the Main Council is needed in order to preclude such phenomena. The council provides the limit for self-government of a school, it reviews what is going on in the school and in which way. So, at this level, the school's autonomy ceases. Initially, we considered introducing two types of schools, A and B. This, however, could create too formidable a barrier to overcome, whereas the goals are to encourage development of smaller academic centers, bringing in people and scientific teams, obtaining the right to confer degrees etc.

[Question] Do you also share the opinion that dispatch is necessary in parliamentary work on the law?

[Answer] Certainly, because by acting now according to the new law, we are in conflict with the current legal regulations. Everything is in order as long as there are no conflicts... If we had the law, there would not be the incidents with the WSI in Radom and the Higher Officers' Firefighting School (WOSP). At last, I think that if we want to bring up the youth in the spirit of abiding by the law, we ourselves must act in keeping with the law.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

Bialystok Academy of Medicine Representatives

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Dec 81 p 3

[Interview with Professor Dr Andrzej Kalicinski and Docent Dr Emanuel Trembaczowski, prorector of the Academy of Medicine in Bialystok; by Ewa Wilk: "Without Ordering Them About"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] How will the medical school system benefit from the new law on higher schools? What benefits will be, in your estimation, the most important?

[Andrzej Kalicinski] To my mind, the greatest achievement of the law is contained in one of its very first statements, proclaiming the pluralism of worldview and full intellectual freedom. It has special importance in teaching medicine. Let us take such an example: we now transplant cornea, kidneys and hearts. Currently, great ethical and moral problems are posed by taking the heart out of a seemingly live organism (that means the organism in which the activity of the brain is ceasing). Medicine can only operate at that level in the environment of full intellectual freedom. There can be no limits to the human mind, and the removal of such artificial barriers by the law is a positive development.

[Emanuel Trembaczowski] In my opinion, the separate statutes worked out for particular schools in an autonomous fashion will be tremendously important for the development of medicine. They will make it possible to emphasize the fields in which academies of medicine have shown outstanding achievements. In Bialystok, for example, the coagulability of blood is such a field. Almost every school has an opportunity to set up working teams. The statute will allow us to introduce changes which will enable the free development of such teams. Changes in many structures that hamper development will become possible. The institute structure is already giving way and the system of chairs and clinics is setting in.

[Andrzej Kalicinski] Statutes and financial autonomy will allow the schools to even out the levels of particular establishments. So far, there have been weak establishments and strong establishments. In the ministry, where the funds were distributed, only the strong one could get noticed. Therefore, the gap between the weak and the strong was getting wider. Now genuine needs of the school can be evaluated more objectively from the rector's level.

[Question] I notice a certain contradiction: one of you talks about emphasizing selected fields, whereas the other--about evening out the level of establishments.

[Andrzej Kalicinski] Contrary to what it seems like, there is no contradiction. It is possible to water "the most magnificent flowers" and to give a boost to no less able individuals who, however, lack the clout needed to move up--both at the same time.

[Question] Since the beginning of this year, your school has been operating on the basis of the new draft law. Can you already see the consequences of introducing this legal act?

[Emanuel Trembaczowski] Students and assistants have been introduced to the ruling circles. They can voice their opinions on almost all issues in the senate and



faculty councils. Introducing the students to these bodies did encounter some resistance. Spontaneity and being carried away by emotions so characteristic of young people were feared. It was thought that they would strive to reduce the time of study and make exams easier. These assumptions have not been borne out. The young people are learning quickly to govern democratically. Earlier, they learned only how to manage things, they themselves were ordered about.

[Andrzej Kalicinski] We were in anguish because those who were ruled were slighted, because there was no mutual respect for each other between the authority and the ruled. The latter obeyed the authority, but did not believe it. This is a natural outcome when the authority is nominated rather than elected. New authorities were elected by our meeting and confidence in this authority was strengthened by the following device: the term is three years, but a vote of acceptance is required after two years. So, our gathering is now the truly superior authority.

[Question] We started our interview with the issue of insuring free development of medicine and the widening of research horizons in this field of knowledge. A "return" of medicine to the universities would serve this goal. What do you think about this concept.

[Emanuel Trembaczowski] It seems to me, that, firstly, fields of research activities associated with natural sciences, for example, pharmacy, gravitate towards universities. Secondly, in centers such as Krakow or Warsaw tradition can play a significant role (there academies of medicine developed from medical faculties). To tell you the truth, where we work, in Bialystok, there would be no institution with which to join.

[Andrzej Kalicinski] So far, there has been no cooperation at all with the local branch of the Warsaw University. Relations with the Technical University (Politechnika) have been altogether antagonistic.

[Emanuel Trembaczowski] Immediately, barriers of technical character would spring up, such as the financing of health care. It should be borne in mind that medical schools do not only educate and conduct research, they also provide services. Instruction in such schools is inseparably linked with the work of clinics. This, among other things, accounts for the peculiarity of the medical school system. We are happy with this peculiarity being reflected in the draft and with the fact that a special Section of Medicine will be attached to the Main Council on Science and Higher Schools.

Once again about medicine in universities. Should the Krakow example be spread? No, I am against having everything done on orders once again.

[Question] Let me thank the gentlemen for the interview.

Wroclaw Technical University Professor

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Dec 81 p 3

[Interview with Professor Wacław Kasprzak, Institute of Materials Science and Applied Mechanics at Wrocław Technical University; by Ewa Wilk: "Several of the Main Sins"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Professor, I would like to know how you, a professor of exact sciences and until recently a protector in the Technical University of Wroclaw, view the new law on higher schools. What is your forecast for the technical school system and in general for the Polish sciences in conjunction with this new legal act?

[Answer] It should be stressed that the law solves a problem of indeed fundamental importance: it guarantees self-government to the learned community. Besides this, however, it gives little, almost nothing. "The original sin" of the law is found in the very approach to the legislative process. As is known, Polish science is divided into three "sections"; schools, institutes of the Polish Academy of Sciences and ministerial institutes. All "sections" need legal regulation. In my estimation, the law on higher schools will aggravate divisions among them. Our country cannot afford this three-section arrangement. Organizational estrangement causes duplication of institutes and research, whereas current subsidies to science do not even ensure the access to the sources of information (I mean magazines and scientific publications).

Therefore, my forecast for the future is bleak. So far, we have observed weak integration tendencies in science. The problem is whether the social system enhances certain objective tendencies or weakens them. It is evident that the law will promote disintegration tendencies. Each "sector" will want to dominate, the "tug-of-war over funds" will start, and the compromise achieved will be optimal not from the point of view of social interests but rather of narrow groups.

[Question] Where will the higher schools take positions in this "war"?

[Answer] The Polish Academy of Sciences will certainly use its authority as a public service institution; ministerial institutes will be able to live their own independent lives, as they do today, whereas higher schools are threatened with the reduction of their role to that of mere schools.

[Question] So, this is the first "sin" of the law, as you call it. Besides it, what other unsolved problems do you see?

[Answer] The law does not abolish the unusually elaborate, highly hierarchical structure of the learned community, where attachment to academic degrees is almost slavish. A young man taking up research receives training primarily in climbing up the ladder. Cognitive motivations of such a man are suppressed by motivations associated with his career. This is, nonetheless, natural, since independence is obtained only with the docent degree. Fully independent activity in science after the age of 40 means independence for the "old man." Certainly, the system of "fast growth" must be linked with more rigorous selection and rotation of scientific cadres.

[Question] At present, we do not yet know how this problem will be resolved in the law. However, does not any system of rotation entail the danger of--putting it rather bluntly--people who have "burned out" being kicked out into the street?

[Answer] Whatever view of the matter we take, the learned community must be very mobile. No person could be associated with for life; however, our scientific

workers are inviolable from a certain level on up. Let us consider other educational systems. In the USA, for example, the customarily secure position is only that of a full professor.

[Question] So far, we have been discussing the consequences of introducing the law for the learned community...

[Answer] Preserving the fiction of the higher school diploma as a document entitling one to practice a certain profession is a drawback of the law. A piece of paper takes the place of the genuine ability of the graduate, his professional usefulness in solving problems. Earning an academic degree exempts a person from raising his qualifications. After all, those who issue the diploma have only an indirect contact with industrial activity.

Once again, let us take a look at the higher schools of the USA. There, professional licenses, subject to periodical renewal, are granted by professional associations. On the other hand, these associations influence the shaping of the curriculum, whereas in our country a paradox is arising: full self-government of higher schools will come into conflict with the service function of instruction.

[Question] Do you mean establishing admission quotas and, subsequently, the associated problem of placement for the graduates?

[Answer] Not exclusively. I mean the broadly defined social interest, social control over the activity of schools. In an industrial plant, for example, decisions of the self-governing body will be verified by the market. At the same time, nobody controls decisions made in a higher school, there is no social mechanism or institution with controlling functions. Only science is represented in the Main Council on Science and Higher Schools; there are no representatives of industry and professional organizations.

[Question] Let us return to the issue of specialization. Does the law give students an opportunity for greater independence, for individualizing curriculum? Will higher schools stop resembling secondary schools?

[Answer] Massive introduction of individual study modes is impossible in the technical school system for a very simple reason--the economic distress pervading the schools. For laboratory classes, students have to be organized into groups; it is difficult to imagine that anybody can use the equipment whenever he pleases. Besides, a precise point system should be worked out for evaluating the students objectively.

Finally, there is the issue of scientific advisors to the students with individual curricula. Given our structure of higher schools, this is only a burden for the sponsoring scientist. In the USA, there are, for example no assistants in higher schools, therefore, every professor is interested in drawing students in their senior years of study into research activity. It is very important that the first independent ventures in science are not regarded as the first stage of professional activity. In this way, the maturing of a scientist occurs in a natural fashion.

I think that the "revolution" [in higher schools] based on the reduction of academic positions from seven to, say, four is possible under our conditions.

[Question] Now we are back to one of the "main sins" of the law, to the hierarchy of academic degrees...

[Answer] Indeed, I have pointed out many shortcomings of the law. However, I do not want to be misunderstood. I am an avid proponent of implementing the law, since it is a tremendous step ahead, despite those shortcomings.

[Question] Thank you sincerely for the interview.

Maria Curie-Sklodowska University Rector

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Dec 81 p 3

[Interview with Professor Dr Tadeusz Baszynski, rector of the Maria Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin; by Halina Zielinska: "For the Draft to Become a Law"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] In your opinion, which articles of the draft law are the most controversial?

[Answer] First of all, it should be mentioned that it is impossible to work out a draft law that satisfies everybody. A draft always stirs controversy and we must come to terms with this.

Nonetheless, it is necessary for us to be informed about the reservations voiced by the ministry [of higher schools] while the legislative process goes on--presumably, these reservations are no secret--and to discuss the draft with all interested communities.

Apart from statements on the issues of worldview--and I do not think that including such statements in the law is necessary--the article defining the ways to establish admission quotas for higher schools is controversial. As far as I know, the ministry thinks that the quotas must be set outside the school, because otherwise the economy cannot assume responsibility for the placement of graduates. Well, it can be said that in recent years nobody could guarantee anybody employment consistent with his line of education despite the system of coordination, plenipotentiaries and so on. Besides, should every higher school graduate be employed according to the education received? For example, why cannot a mechanic also be an art historian? Should a higher school, especially a university, be a center of promoting culture or rather an institution training people in a certain occupation? Should everybody be assigned a position to take after he graduates?

I personally think that making the development of higher schools dependent on the labor market entails a significant danger. Let us assume that the economy does not need, say, graduates in molecular biology. Can this be considered a valid reason to close down this direction in education? Of course, this would be an idiocy. Science cannot develop within the framework delimited by statistics and orders; higher schools are not institutions with solely educational functions, but with academic functions as well.

[Question] Does not according higher schools complete freedom in shaping curriculum entail a threat of chaos?



[Answer] If every higher school starts shaping curriculum anew and independently this could certainly lead to difficult situations; for example, it could altogether prevent students and academic cadres from switching schools. However, as far as I know, there is no revolution in the works; changes introduced in curriculum are usually known to the entire community. According to the schools freedom in shaping curriculum will allow them to make use of their specific character. This will also facilitate establishing foreign contacts.

[Question] Much controversy is also stirred by the concept of setting up the highest collective body, the Main Council on Science and Higher Schools.

[Answer] The Main Council with advisory responsibilities has long existed, whereas the controversy arises around extending its responsibilities. In my opinion, the existence of the council, a collective elected body with legislative and revocatory functions in addition to the advisory function, will avert many conflicts.

The issue of funding higher schools unsolved in the draft is what bothers me. It is known that a part of our funding used to come through the so-called deductions, or work establishment grants. I do not think that work establishments will gladly give us money, at least not for the initial period after the transition to self-financing.

After all, many issues are controversial or only partially solved. However, as I have said, I cannot imagine an ideal draft law. The greatest danger does not lie in the shortcomings of the draft. In my opinion, the absence of a law on higher schools is the greatest danger. The old law has absolutely outlived itself, so higher schools are already making use of the new draft law. Some say that it is merely a draft, and, speaking objectively, one should admit they are right. Inadmissible arbitrariness has set in in regulating problems of academic life, from which the current situation in higher schools has resulted. So, it is of paramount importance that the draft turns into effective law.

9761

CSO: 2600/136

LEADING YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS DISCUSSED

Warsaw WALKA MŁODYCH in Polish 2 Aug 81 pp 18, 21

[Text]

Only a year ago, describing the whole Polish youth movement was as easy as apple pie. Now hardly a week passes without new organizations, programs or declarations added to the existing picture of changes within the movement. The stratification of the movement changes constantly, depending on the activities of various constituencies.

Beaming with its own, unreflected light, the former federal triumvirate is organizing congresses dedicated to radical renewal. The process of settling scores continues.

Yet it is difficult to find even the most competent historian or observer of the youth movement who can estimate how many unions, associations and societies are in Poland because they exist in all social groups, ranging from Marxist to Catholic. But after all, this is not of major importance. The time for statistics will come later. Together, we must discuss many problems in detail. Let us list the most important ones.

The first problem was detailed in two independent reports on career opportunities for young people. Both reports agree that the situation is bad. The political and economic crisis has affected especially young people who were looking forward to their mature and peaceful participation in the life of society when they suddenly realized that this perspective has been postponed. They will have to struggle for their career opportunities in a situation of unheard-of hardships and everyday inconveniences.

The second problem results from the first: the promises that have not materialized. Contrary to official statements, young people have participated only minimally in the process of alleviating the crisis, and they have had few opportunities to use their new skills. "We want to be treated as partners, we do not want to feel superfluous," representatives of various youth organizations point out in their programs, although they may differ in their proposed methods of becoming more useful.

Existing organizations, with their clearly defined constituencies, traditions and direct participation in the August 1980 events, should find it least difficult to adjust to the needs of the current situation. But, naturally, both formal obstacles and the prolonged process of settling scores have been impossible to avoid.

The crucial thing is to gain new faith in the new program and in the partnership between the unions on the one hand and the party, the government and trade organizations on the other.

Let us begin with a look at the post-August history of the best-known, the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP), which irritated, astonished and even commanded respect during the past year, from the first plenums and meetings until its Third Extraordinary Congress and its present activities, which are a direct continuation of the congress.

In late fall 1980, there was a paradoxical situation. ZSMP members were setting up strike committees, making lists of demands and risking a hasty and unfair evaluation of their activities. In other words, they were present and active wherever historical events were taking place. When the strikes subsided, they were among the first who sought to make up losses from the strikes.

At the same time, the ZSMP as an organization was hibernating. It took a while before former ZSMP leaders changed their management methods, based on giving orders and issuing directives, for those based on consultation, analysis and democracy. Rather than visit local chapters, demand that changes take place more rapidly and work on a new program, they focused on discussing the problems of the endangered federation and rereading old resolutions, as if those were most important at the time. Our program was good, the leaders said, but no one wanted to or could realize it. "The credibility and the program of the ZSMP has survived the ordeal of August and September," said a last year's issue of WALKA MŁODYCH. Is that true?

This question was best answered at the Third Extraordinary ZSMP Congress, which took place in an atmosphere that neither the new organizations (Rural Youth Union [ZMW] and Independent Association of Polish Students [SZSP]) nor the "old" ones (Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] and Polish Scout Union [ZHP]) could previously afford.

At the congress, the discussants said that they are fed up with their role as the party's kindergarten and with the symbolic response to important events through meetings only. Like many post-August phenomena, partnership should be understood literally, including the participation of representatives of party and state authorities in the congress, throughout the whole congress, not merely until the noon recess on the first day. This seemingly secondary motion lent wings to discussants at the congress.

The discussants were talking about irregularities and scandalous mismanagement in their work places, about completely ignoring young people's opinions and not allowing them to serve in an advisory capacity, and about manipulating the youth movement for the sake of obscure goals. The discussants did not spare the representatives of the party and state authorities who were present. They refused

to be misled and deceived by promises. They demanded truth, concrete statements and deadlines. To be sure, they elected chairman a few days later than they intended, at 4 am. Chairman Jerzy Rasilewicz and accredited correspondents called those procedures "crazy democracy" and thus unwittingly identified them with chaos. It is probably better to say "artistic chaos," which served to forge partnership. This term well reflects all the participants' enormous effort in making the congress happen.

After the congress, representatives of the ZSNP met with other unions. On 2 July 1981, a commission for joint international contacts was established. This solution is probably not yet final, for it allows little flexibility. But at least the largely divided Polish youth movement has found its first communication platform. The commission's declaration was signed by Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of ZSNP Main Board (ZSNP/ZG); Waldemar Swirgon, chairman of ZMW National Board (ZMW/ZK); Andrzej Ornat, supreme commander of the Polish Scout Union (ZMP); and Tadeusz Sawic, chairman of SZSP Supreme Council (SZSP/RN).

There are a few reservations about the present work of the ZSNP in order to avoid painting an idealized, or unreal, picture of the union. They have supported an idea of bringing people from various social groups to the union. They have complained that there are few high school and--this is especially Chairman Jaskiernia's concern--university students in the Union. What happened? So far, not much has. Apart from the anemic activities of the Council of School Youth, we have been unable to enter the "foreign market" of the remaining youth groups. It is now vacation time, the time of summer camps and reflection, so it would be worthwhile to come to a few conclusions before the new academic year.

#### What Is Happening Among Rural Youth?

Undoubtedly, ZSNP became too used to having the monopoly among rural youth. This is sometimes harmful, for one feels too secure. To be sure, the rural program of the ZSNP was good, but its realization was not satisfactory. Once again, we return to the problem of the union's credibility and possibilities, which apparently were not so obvious if they dissolved in unrealistic programs and unfulfilled promises. Has it then gained a competitor, a rival or a partner in the countryside?

"We consider the founding of an independent rural youth organization to be a chance for a true partnership with young workers," Marek Nowosadzki, ZMW activists from Zamosc Voivodship said. This argument sounds authentic and credible, for no social movement should exist only for its own sake. After all, every movement exists in a variegated social milieu, not in isolation. The ZMW is not a new organization; it has been revived several times since the Rural Youth Union of the Republic of Poland (ZMW RP). "Wici," was founded in 1928. Under its present name, the ZMW was active between 1957 and 1973, only to be reorganized into the Union of Socialist Rural Youth (ZSMW) in 1973 and to be included in the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth (FSZMP).

The most recent history of the ZMW began on 3 December 1981; its congress took place between 20 and 23 March. Having discarded the burden of a provisional status, the ZMW, according to its leading activists, will spare no effort in the countryside. It is urgent to stop the flow of young people from villages to



cities, to encourage them to take up farming and to survive the worst period for food producers and, whenever it is possible, to make this period less burdensome for them. This is the most important and pressing job facing the ZMW. This work in the countryside can and should be shared by the ZSMP.

Waldemar Swirgon, chairman of the ZMW/ZK, says, "No one questions the program of the ZMW of our perception of reality any more." For the time being, let us leave aside the question whether the ZMW has evolved in opposition to the ZSMP. However, both organizations stimulate, watch and compete with one another. This is what counts in the diverse youth movement.

Looking back at the good old traditions and heritage, we should first of all mention the ZHP. In its 70th year, the ZHP underwent crucial changes and transformations. But in fact these were merely a return to the earlier and tried traditions and symbols still fondly remembered by older scout instructors. Wojciech Pielecki, editor-in-chief of a scouting magazine, NA PRZELAJ, wrote just before the Seventh ZHP Congress, which took place on 15-18 March 1981: "This congress is a historical chance for a renewal. We must utilize all possibilities afforded by the congress, we must transcend our individual and group interests, we must rely on our scouting common sense. Do we realize how easy it would be to waste this congress?"

Why did scoutmaster Pielecki address scouts with such a dramatic question? The congress clarified two major tendencies within the ZHP, represented by teenage high school students and scout instructors, mainly teachers. The ratio between the two groups was balanced, 50-50 give-or-take-a-little, although according to some the ratio was 1 to 100. But differences between the new and the old were obliterated, and it was no longer important whether the chronologically older must be better or vice versa. The congress accepted as a solution a compromise. That strange creation, functioning in high schools as "Scout Service for Socialist Poland," was abandoned. On the one hand, the top ZHP officials remained largely the same, and the influx of new blood to the headquarters was negligible. On the other hand, ZHP uniforms were unified, and the oath and the official song were verified. Also, it was acknowledged, although almost informally, that two groups form the controversial and theoretical superstructure of the present ZHP: the seminar on "The Future of Scouting" and the Andrzej Malkowski Circles of [Scout] Instructors (KIHAM). In contrast to the previous agreements, both groups declared their apolitical character.

The most recent meeting of the ZHP Supreme Council on 19 June 1981 was geared chiefly toward continuing the policy of tolerance within the ZHP. In its resolution, the Supreme Council "took note of a regrettable fact, notably, the creation of an independent scouting movement in Lublin. We deeply believe," the resolution continues, "that the founders of that movement were motivated by their concern for the welfare of children, which is also of supreme importance to us. Hence we hope for a dialogue and cooperation." However, the Scout Intercommunication Movement "Impulse-Motives" in Lodz received a positive evaluation.

Overall, the Congress was not, despite everything, a milestone in the life of the ZHP nor a watershed marking new beginnings, as the case with the ZSMP. For example, Andrzej Janowski's article in KULTURA is an indication that the new is

yet to come: "On its 70th anniversary, Polish scouting needs to evolve into a new organization to be treated as their own by young people of the 1980's." Will such radical changes actually take place? The process of renewal in the scouting organization will be, after all, a little milder.

A completely different metamorphosis, including stormy discussions, a significant congress and even strikes, has occurred since August 1980 in the SZSP. The SZSP was the first youth organization to hold its congress as early as December 1980. It was also the first to leave the federation. But it has had to work hard to regain the trust of its student constituency.

At the Warsaw Program-Electoral Conference of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), student activist Zbigniew Siemiatkowski said, "When there is a plurality of attitudes and interests, it must be reflected in an organizational plurality. It is clear that the SZSP, which was founded as a youth organization and was active in the social and political reality in Poland of the 1970's, yielded to the same pathological laws operating within the PZPR. Like the PZPR, the SZSP gradually divorced itself from its constituents, becoming merely a nominal representative of their interests, and the SZSP administration was alienated from its members. We also had corruption and careerism among activists. No wonder that the union's credibility suffered among the students. With that baggage we entered Polish reality after August 1980. The SZSP had to cleanse itself of the pathology in order to command respect among its constituents. And it did cleanse itself."

The quotation is long, but could all other youth organizations not subscribe to this statement? The student community has been characterized by a very significant drop in its participation in any kind of volunteer work. Ten years ago 93 percent of the student population participated in all kinds of organizations. Now 60 percent of students do not participate in any organizations. In its best period, the SZSP membership included 77 percent of the student body.

Calm or even stagnation dominated the student community until February 1981. The Lodz University, followed by other universities, went on strike to defend the autonomy and self-government of higher schools, changes in the curricula, a new system of entrance exams, etc. The strikes ended when the so-called Lodz Agreement, including most of the students' postulates, was signed. Also, a new student organization was legally registered: NZS. The first founding committee of the NZS emerged 2 September 1980 in Gdansk. The first national congress of representatives of all larger [student] communities was held on 18 September 1980. At the congress, it was decided to form one national organization. The next congress met in March 1981 in Krakow, where the NZS has its headquarters.

The NZS often speaks of its apolitical character. It perceives itself as a student trade union. But is it really so? The activities of the National Founding Committee (OKZ)--for example its publications or protest marches demanding release of political prisoners--indicate something else. But let us refrain from making any further comments on this topic, since the history of the NZS is brief. A lack of definite ideology does not necessarily mean a lack of political character.

There is also another union with headquarters in Krakow. Its statute is very explicit: The "Union of Democratic Youth (ZMD) is a non-Marxist political

organization of young people age 15 through 30. It is open to everyone guided by progressive and humanistic ideals who wishes to participate actively in the patriotic effort of realizing democratic principles of social existence."

Since I wrote extensively about the ZMD in WALKA MŁODYCH, No 21 (21 June 1981), I will only add that in February 1981 still another organization was founded in the tradition of an earlier union of the same name. The tradition of the earlier ZMD goes back to the period of 1945-1948 and 1946-1957. That organization worked closely with the Democratic Party (SD), perceiving it as a kind of a political university. The young democrats were chiefly high school and college students as well as young intelligentsia and artisans.

KZMP is a totally new organization, which came into existence by combining the Communist Union of Polish Youth (KZMP) and the Communist Youth Union (ZMK). On 3 July both unions in Lodz to elect the KZMP National Committee. According to the proposed statute, "the union wants to base its activities on communist ideals and on the tradition inherent in the work and struggle of its antecedents; it is ready for cooperation with the Workers' Party--renewed, communist in its program and democratic in its actions." The first meeting of the KZMP is expected to be held in the fall 1981.

Will the reformed organizations keep their word? Let us hope that those who do not want to leave behind only empty statements and declarations on paper, will succeed. But most importantly the young people cannot continue their monologue. They must find solid backing and support, and the party must be their partner in a dialogue of equals. They must find the best forms of communication among themselves. There is still a long way from today's stratification and instability to a reasonable plurality.

The last pre-congress document--i.e., Program Outline for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress--spoke only briefly about the role of the young generation in Poland's present and future. But it did contain a very important statement: "Young people cannot be treated as an object of upbringing. The party politics should focus on allowing the young generation to participate independently and actively in shaping their life and future.

"Young people are partners in a dialogue and full-fledged participants in the political life of the country. They are naturally critical, but this critical attitude may be used in a constructive manner. It should be directed toward solving public problems and performing social service to the young people and the whole generation."

Let us hope that once this statement becomes reality there will no longer be reports similar to the one presented recently by the ZSMP/ZG Social Analyses Team and the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs. We want to read less depressing reports about ourselves. "As soon as possible" said Sejm member Edmund Jan Osmańczyk, "we must cast aside all prerogatives and open up administrative and social barriers, from rural parishes to the capital, for the most talented, most ambitious, most highly qualified and most honest young Poles."

8852

CSO: 2600/104

DRECKI REPORTS ON LATEST H. HUPKA ARTICLE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 7

[Article by Ryszard Drecki: "Hupka and His Assistant"]

[Text] The well-known leader of the compatriots movement[\*], Herbert Hupka, wrote an article for the latest issue of the revisionist weekly DER SCHLESIER [The Silesian] that virulently attacks the minister of education for the North Rhine-Westphalia Land, J. Girgensohn.

Hupka was indignant over a recent statement made by Girgensohn in which the latter came out against the publication and use in schools of maps that falsify the territorial-political dimensions of Europe, including in particular those maps which portray the Polish-German border in keeping with the wishes of the revanchists, that is, "in accordance with the status quo as of 1937." This revisionist activist takes particular issue with the arguments advanced by Girgensohn to the effect that, "Poland's western border should be portrayed as a normal national frontier."

For the record, it should be pointed out that similar statements made by the minister of education for the FRG's largest Land do not mean, unfortunately, that his subordinate educational offices are using only those maps which would correspond to a sense of truth and justice as well as to the joint recommendations of Polish and West German specialists. But it would seem that any reflections at all along these lines are sufficient to touch off a chauvinistic allergic reaction among the leaders of the compatriots movement.

But the saddest thing of all as far as Poles are concerned is the fact that Hupka is able to call on a Polish assistant to "back up" his arguments. "Perhaps he (minister Girgensohn) would be willing to let the Polish literary historian, Jan Jozef Lipski, give him some private lessons," taunts the compatriot activist. This is not the first and by no means the last time that the notorious article published by J. J. Lipski in the Paris-based KULTURA is going to be used as a "teaching aid" in the service of the propaganda of anti-Polish, revanchist circles in the FRG.

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CSD: 2600/163

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\*[Reference to ethnic Germans expelled from new western territories awarded to postwar Poland]



## RESTRICTIONS ON FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6

[Text] For as long as martial law shall remain in force the civil liberties of freedom of speech and freedom of the press will be subject to restrictions. It has been declared to be mandatory that permits must be obtained in advance from agencies responsible for the control of publications and public performances for the distribution of texts and visual materials. Permits are required in particular for the printing and distribution of all forms of visual materials and print media, for example, for the publication of books, brochures, placards, leaflets, photographs, posters, and other printed texts and recordings. Permits are also required for the public presentation of a literary or dramatic work as well as for the exhibition of all forms of fine arts. As of the date on which martial law is promulgated all official rulings pertaining to the publication of newspapers and periodicals, with the exception of TRYBUNA LUDU and ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI and one daily newspaper each for the 16 publishing centers of the Workers Publishing Cooperative "Prasa-Ksiązka-Ruch," will become null and void.

The duty to obtain advance publishing permits does not apply, inter alia, to religious publications issued by churches and other religious associations or to printed matter intended solely for personal use.

Agencies responsible for the control of publications and public performances issue permits for the printing of publications and for the staging of public performances and they subsequently also issue permits for distribution of finished printed matter, audio recordings, and video recordings. These agencies may also suspend the presentation of all types of public performances if the substance or format of these performances deviate from a previously approved script.

During the period while martial law remains in force a ban will also be imposed on the use of plants, devices, and apparatuses that produce printed matter and illustrated materials by any means as well as on the operation of plants producing stamps and seals that are in the possession of physical persons, societies, associations, trade unions, and social and professional organizations. Conversely, such plants may be operated by state and cooperative organizational entities solely with the permission of the government minister or chairman of the central cooperative union board who has direct or indirect jurisdiction over the organizational entity in question.

11813

CSO: 2600/166

POLAND

RULES GOVERNING DISSEMINATION OF PRINTED MATERIALS ANNOUNCED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6

[Text] The chairman of the Workers Publishing Cooperative "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" has issued a directive on the operations of editorial boards, publishing houses, printing plants, and publications distribution agencies. With a view to bringing the operations of newspaper printing, distribution, and paper warehouses into line with the new situation that has developed in Poland it has been decided that for as long as martial law shall remain in force the only newspapers to be published in Poland will be TRYBUNA LUDU and one daily newspaper each for the 16 publishing centers of the Workers Publishing Cooperative. The publication of all other newspaper and periodical titles under the jurisdiction of the Workers Publishing Cooperative is to be suspended for an indefinite period. The basis for this ruling is the executive order of the chairman of the Main Office for the Control of Publications and Public Performances dated 13 December 1981.

Enterprises responsible for the dissemination of Workers Publishing Cooperative newspapers and books will follow existing rules and regulations in making plans for the delivery to readers of copies of TRYBUNA LUDU, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, and other local daily newspapers.

11813

CSO: 2600/166

## MANDATORY SURRENDER OF WEAPONS, FIREARMS, AMMUNITION ANNOUNCED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 5

[PAP]

[Text] In connection with the declaration of martial law the minister of internal affairs, acting on the strength of an executive order issued pursuant to article 21, section 2 of the Decree on Martial Law, has declared it to be mandatory for all persons in possession of small-caliber firearms, hunting guns, sports guns, and the ammunition used by these weapons, also including all explosive materials, to surrender these weapons, ammunition, and materials for safekeeping at the nearest Citizens Militia headquarters or precinct station by no later than 24 hours after the date on which martial law was declared.

In the event that these firearms, ammunition, and explosive materials are not surrendered for safekeeping voluntarily within the prescribed time period and at the prescribed locations, Citizens Militia officers may forcibly confiscate these weapons, ammunition, and materials.

The unlawful possession of firearms, ammunition, and explosive materials is a felony punishable by imprisonment for a term of up to 5 years and may be prosecuted under the rules of summary proceeding.

The minister of internal affairs has also imposed a ban on the carrying of all types of blade weapons such as knives, stilettos, swords, and so on, in addition to air guns, cap pistols, gas pistols and other similar objects and devices that might pose a threat to law and order.

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## VARIOUS ISSUES OF 'MYSL WOJSKOWA' REVIEWED

## Comment on Articles

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 6, Jun; No 7, Jul; No 10, Oct 81

[Article: "What Threat Lies in Employment of Toxic Agents?"]

[No 6, Jun 81 p 48]

[Text] For the United States of America, Vietnam proved to be, in this respect, the proving ground. It was there that the Americans employed large quantities of toxic defoliants and incapacitating agents. Sixty-one [as published] liters of herbicides, sprayed from airplanes and helicopters and from land placed dispensers caused the destruction of 20 percent of the forested areas and 5 percent of cultivated area. The most frequently used defoliants, at that time, were: 2,4 dichlorophenoxyacetic acid compounds, cacodyl dimethylarsenic acid and picloram which were prepared in several formulae: (code named) purple, orange, white and blue. Purple formula was used primarily over the jungle and cultivated fields with broadleaf vegetation, blue formula was used for destruction of rice fields. The defoliant destroyed the plants by poisoning the soil precluded any further plant growth. It was also dangerous to the population. Between 1961 and 1970 1,536,000 people were poisoned, and 1,622 people died. The poisonous effect on humans was a result of the direct action of the defoliant aerosol on the pulmonary system or the result of consuming the contaminated food or water. These poisons exhibit both primary and secondary (also genetic) toxic activity. In particular it is the secondary effect of the defoliant's activity on the environment that is very dangerous. They cause tremendous changes in the soil, vegetation and animal life and the effects are evident even after many years.

In addition to defoliants, so-called harassing agents of the "anti-riot" variety were employed in South Vietnam. They are so named because in a number of countries they are employed to quell street disorders. They are chloroacetophenon, CS and adamsite. While chloroacetophenon is relatively mild, adamsite may be extremely dangerous. In a very small concentration, it attacks breathing passages, mucous membranes and the skin. Also tested was the mind-altering agent BZ. After a short period of latency, it causes dryness of the mouth and skin, dilation of the pupils, vision disturbances and disturbances in the cardiovascular system. Next comes disorientation, loss of equilibrium followed by a stuporous or manic state. The serious poisoning stage persists for about 12 hours, deviations from psychological norm last for about 3 or 4 days, a return to normalcy is not possible until the fifth day. An overdose of BZ (i.e., exposure above the disabling dose) could cause death of the contaminated, however, multiple, massive applications could cause an inclination to cancer or extensive changes in the body's organs.



The above information was derived from an article by Lt Col Ireneusz Nowak, Ph D Eng: "About Employment of Toxic Agents in the Vietnam War" in MYSL WOJSKOWA [Military Thought] No 2/81. The statistical tables presented in the article contain collective data pertaining to employment of chemical toxic agents during the particular years of the war and the data on losses they caused.

[No 6, Jun 81 p 48]

[Article: "Effectiveness of Scientific Research Work"]

[Text] "The Polish people, who spend tens of billions of zlotys yearly on science, have a right to expect some more visible results from the scientists. In public opinion, our tremendous research-scientific potential (over 1,400 research units employing about 250,000 people, including 21,500 scientific workers and 67,500 engineer-technicians) results in far too few innovations and contributes in an unsatisfactory manner to improving technological, organizational and economic progress." In this manner Col (Ret) Dr Wiktor Zaleski begins deliberations on the subject of the results of scientists' work and on the possibilities of evaluation of their activity. His article, printed in MYSL WOJSKOWA No 2/81, is the first opinion in a discussion concerning an evaluation of the effectiveness of scientific-research work which was conducted by this publication. The author writes about attempts at introducing a framework of methodological principles for evaluation of the effectiveness of research, about scientific and economic values, application of qualitative and quantitative criteria, concerning publications, quotations and a simple measure of accomplished events. Let us pay attention to the latter. It utilizes a quantitative evaluation indicator of achievement of scientific-research work, using an analytical criterion of events to detect irregularities and reserves. It facilitates the direction of research and makes possible a reaction to motivating innovations in research work.

[No 7, Jul 81, pp 47-48]

[Article: "Electric Power Systems During Periods of Emergency and War"]

[Text] In MYSL WOJSKOWA No 3/81, Dr Jozef Krzyzanowski touches on the problems of supplying the national economy with energy during a period of war. The article begins with the basic data on power systems and electric power systems. It gives a definition of the national electric energy system as a "collection of sources and consumers with a balanced electrical energy system composed of thermal and hydroelectric plants working in parallel, transmission lines, transformer stations and the electric energy distribution net." It has a common reserve of power--both for emergency and repair--which can be utilized at a given time or in given location within the system.

Electric power systems are the main sector of power systems. This is divided into "major electric power systems" (in other words public utility) and "minor" or industrial electrical power systems. To the "major" type belong electropower and heat-generating plants, to the "minor" belong industrial thermal electric power plants which supply electric power and heat to industrial establishments, small hydroelectric power plants, emergency (auxiliary) generators and so-called renewable sources of energy--sun and wind and also heat pumps.

The national electric power system is characterized by great sensitivity, i.e., susceptibility to power failures which may encompass even very large areas of the country. Therefore, in time of war, it cannot guarantee an uninterrupted supply of energy to the national economy. It may be best to subdivide it into regional sub-systems. This means that they should be prepared--while still in peacetime--for such eventuality. In other words they should be, as much as possible in a normal course of events, self-sufficient in the production of electric energy. Such possibilities may be the province of the "minor" power systems which, because of decentralization of strength and dispersion in terrain, will not present a profitable target to enemy strikes. This will represent power in the order of several tens of kilowatts in hydroelectric plants and emergency generators and up to 220 megawatts in industrial power plants. Since industrial power plants, small hydroelectric plants and emergency generators had already been discussed in various publications, Dr Krzyzanowski concentrated on the question of exploitation of renewable energy sources.

Solar energy is gathered by solar collectors. Their basic element is an absorber plate, blackened on one side, which collects the energy by absorbing the sun's radiation. This is passed, in the form of heat, to a flowing liquid or gas. The gas or liquid flow transfers the heat to storage tanks. More profitable than the sun--at least under our conditions--are windmills and generators utilizing the energy of the wind. The largest power demand is during the winter months, when the winds are the strongest, as compared to the summer.

Heat pumps, not used in Poland thus far (in other countries they bring considerable savings in energy), may serve equally for heating and for cooling. Their mechanism was explained by the author in an article: "Small Energy Power Systems for Emergency-Defense Needs," who argued the advisability of tackling this problem for the following reasons:

- independence from the industrial-distributive electric energy net which, for all practical purposes, will cease to exist in time of war;
- great difficulties in insuring a constant supply of energy-producing raw materials such as coal and oil during time of war;
- [anticipated] considerable destruction of large and intermediate-size electric power plants.

[No 7, Jul 81 p 48]

[Article: "Electronic Warfare Equipment in Local Wars"]

[Text] Electronic warfare conducted in the course of local wars depends on radio-electronic reconnaissance, destruction of radioelectronic [RE] objects by weapons of battle, RE neutralization and defense and also on disinformation.

In an article by Lt Col (Dipl) Zdzislaw Golab [MS] printed in No 3/81 of MYSŁ WOJSKOWA he discussed electronic warfare [EW] means used in Korea, Vietnam and the Middle East.

In Korea the RE jamming system, dating back to WW II, was primarily used. Because of strong action by the [North] Korean antiaircraft artillery the U.S. Air Force jammed the air defense system, in particular the locating radar for air targets [ADA acquisition radar] and the ADA directing station [ADA guidance radar]. Bomber formations were preceded by B-26 aircraft who jammed Korean stations with noise transmitters and also employed passive measures by dropping dipole chaff. At that time the disinformation consisted of transmitting attack times and objectives in clear text, over standard radio nets.

In Vietnam the EW consisted of:

- jamming transmissions of radar stations which guided fighter interceptors;
- participation by EW support\* aircraft in bombing raids;
- equipping combat aircraft with passive radar warning and jamming devices and with "Shrike" missiles which were programmed for destruction of ADA radars.

It is worth mentioning at this time, the nonreusable sensors which were deployed by the Americans on land (via parachute). They were characterized by solid construction and had a pointed end. They burrowed into the ground upon landing. They began work on activation by a radio signal. Such transmitters were emplaced in areas traversed by the National Liberation Forces. Their purpose was to disrupt the command processes of these forces.

Experiences gained in local wars are being used in development of RE systems and to perfect their combat employment methods and also in formulation of conclusions pertaining to the future conduct of war. For example, (based on Middle East wars) NATO specialists maintain that a war which may break out in Europe would be lost if, during its initial hours, enemy air defense radar systems--including the radio-technical antiaircraft missile systems of the enemy--are not detected and neutralized. Another conclusion refers to intensification of work on nonreusable jamming generators, which are being recognized as the most effective means in RE active neutralization. Available are transmitters of small (0.1 Watt), intermediate (1.0 Watt) and large (10.0 watt) power which create noise jamming in a wide band of frequencies and which are pulse-responding in a signal frequency capable of disabling RE means. These can be dropped from aircraft or be dispensed by missile, artillery shells or be emplaced in terrain by unconventional forces.

The source of the above information was an article: "Electronic Warfare in Local Wars" which discussed the means and methods of [EW] in a broad and systematic way.

[No 10, Oct 81 pp 47]

[Article: "Elimination of Effects Caused by Weapons of Mass Destruction"]

[Text] The problem reflected by the above title is discussed on the pages of MYSL WARSZAWA No 1/81 by Lt Col Jan Pigta, Ph D Eng. He approaches it from the point of view of combat readiness of military subunits, although this work should also be of interest to those readers who would analyze this problem from the point of view of civil defense.

The author concentrates on the following questions: results of employment of mass destruction weapons, established destructive properties of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and on the steps undertaken to neutralize these effects. The latter--he admits--can be subdivided into several categories, depending on the accepted criteria, based, for example, on the results, their intended purpose, sequence of their accomplishment and also by the type of committed means and forces.

The recovery process from the results of enemy employment of weapons or mass destruction is described by Jan Pigta in reference to undertakings, divided with regard to capabilities, of the specialized units employed (in other words with reference to the forces used). These undertakings are as follows:

- reconnaissance of areas of destruction;
- reconstruction of the damaged command structure;
- rescue, medical and evacuation tasks;
- sanitary and special precautions;
- localization of and combating of fires;
- isolating and marking activities [as in fencing off contaminated areas];
- reconstruction of maneuver, supply and evacuation routes, also resupply and restoration of destroyed materiel and supplies.

The author considers the reconstruction of the damaged command structure as an action of prime importance, whose implementation should start simultaneously with the organization of reconnaissance of contaminated areas. Occasionally--he writes--this may consist only of a restoration of lost communications. However, if several command points become neutralized the following principles should be observed in their reconstruction:

- mutual interchangeability of command points in each link;
- assumption of command functions by a lower echelon;
- assumption of command functions by an element detailed from a higher echelon;
- formation of new command points by utilization of elements from temporary command facilities;
- filling of gaps created by personnel and equipment losses in partially neutralized command facilities.

More detailed information pertaining to the particular undertakings may be found by readers in an article: "Elimination of Effects of Enemy Use of Mass Destruction Weapons and Restoration of Troop Combat Readiness."



## 'ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI' Articles

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 27 Jul, 1 Sep, 4 Nov 81

[Article by staff writer SZAs: "Initiative and Assuming Responsibility for Actions"]

[27 Jul 81 p 4]

[Text] Actions of a commander or staff officer--from the lowest to the highest echelon of command--cannot be compared with any other, even the most demanding, intellectual activity of a man when it comes to the realm of reaching decisions and assuming responsibility for the results of their completion. This applies both during the preparation phase and during the conduct of combat operations. Contained within the commander's decision are the entire art and idea of a purposeful and most effective activity of various types of forces and means aimed at achieving a combat objective and completing combat operations while simultaneously and continually aiming at minimizing one's own combat losses.

The opening article in the July edition of *MYSL WOJSKOWA* written by Col Prof Dr K. Noski is dedicated to the complex problems of decisionmaking and responsibility, maintenance of rational thinking and also to the right to assume a certain risk. The article is entitled: "Initiative and Responsibility in Command-Staff Operations."

A decision at which a commander arrives is, among other factors, an expression of the strength of his intellect, his education, tactical-operational imagination, even his intuition, as well as of profound evaluation and synthesis of available tactical and operational information and also a measure of the total competence of the staff which took part in the decisionmaking. In order that it be properly carried out, it must be well understood by his subordinates. It ought to inspire the imagination of the subordinates and all those who will carry out the will of the commander, inspire them to a creative and self-initiated action.

Speaking of the role of superiors (chain of command) in fulfilling the control function--to aid their subordinates, the author, quite rightly, states that this type of activity does not, in the slightest degree, reduce the responsibility of subordinates for the quality of their execution of orders. One has to bear in mind an old maxim that states: "With the loss of the right to decide, one also loses the feeling of responsibility and initiative is killed." On the other hand, the command function and decision system should function so that those who are afraid to make decisions, which also means responsibility, should not be able to hide behind their superiors' orders, provisions of regulations or instructions and would have no opportunity to dilute their responsibility in the collective responsibility of the staff.

The next problem discussed in the article is the right to assume risks, its conditions and demands. It concerns, of course, sensible risk, properly calculated in crossing the permissible barriers or limits. Any risk in a definite undertaking will lead to success only when it is undertaken with full understanding, when it is based not only on feelings and intuition but, above all, on an all-sided calculation and detailed evaluation, in particular those pertaining to the capabilities of action and counter-action by the potential opponent. One should not confuse risk-taking with adventurism;

the latter should be a totally unknown entity to the commander or staff officer. Risk in command-staff activity should result from or be totally subordinated to a definite objective in combat, battle engagement or operation. A prerequisite to undertaking a tactical-operational risk must be purposefulness resulting from an actual or expected situation.

I believe that the author's suggestion, that under the current conditions a fear of risk, avoidance of risk acceptance, is more dangerous than the actual risk-taking or for that matter justifiable exceeding of the limits (this pertains not exclusively to military situations and tactical-operational activities--SZA). Deliberate avoidance of risk-taking is very damaging to any problem-solving process, it involves procrastination, avoidance of responsibility, undertaking of standard decisions which are formally correct, in which one can hardly find fault and which have only one cardinal fault--they do not do the job.

(The above truths must be understood not only by military commanders but equally by all those who play a leading role in the sociopolitical and economic life of the country--SZA).

Additionally, in the General Military Department the following publications may be found: "Breaching of Defense at Night" (Lt Col [Dipl] W. Mroz and Maj [Dipl] J. Szczecki); "Selected Problems of Aviation in Support of a Combined Tactical Task Force Passing From Attack to Defense" (Maj [Dipl] W. Michalski); "Cooperation Between Antiarmor Detachments and a Team of Antiarmor Helicopters" (Lt Col [Dipl] Z. Charnotta); "Automation of Decisionmaking Processes in the Accomplishment of Engineer Mining Tasks" (Capt R. Krzewinski Ph D Eng and Maj W. Ruszkowski MS Eng); "Testing of Air Defense Effectiveness by the Use of Computer Simulation Method" (Maj B. Kolodziniski Ph D Eng); "Concerning the Moral Responsibility of Soldiers in Battle" (Lt Col Dr J. Kunikowski).

In the Organization and Information Department the following articles are provided: "Properties and Structure of Data Base Systems" (Capt M. Niedzielski MS Eng and Maj B. Szafranski Ph D Eng); "Making Military Systems More Efficient" (Col Dr T. Lojko); "Concerning the Content of Draft Program Assumptions" (Maj Dr J. Haschke).

The Economics Department has following publications: "Review of Evaluation Methods of the Research-Scientific Work in the Military" (Col Prof A. Rogucki Dr Hab); "Organization of Human Teams Assembled for Effectiveness in Directing Scientific Work in Military Research Units" (Col [Ret] W. Zaleski Ph D) and "Utilization of the Results of Reliability Research for Standardization of Spare Parts in Military Technology" (Lt Col R. Rozanski Ph D Eng).

[1 Sep 81 p 4]

[Review by staff writer SZA: "Ergonomics and Engineering Psychology in the Military"]

[Text] Almost all aspects of modern life are affected by technology. It has made man's existence more efficient and more comfortable, at the same time it has created a certain

element of danger to his health, or even his life, and to his environment. In order to work out proper ways and methods to deal with this negative aspect, new branches of science have sprung up, for example, ergonomics and engineering psychology. The subject of these sciences are people and machine sets, operating in a given environment. These are sometimes called: "man--tools--work subject--work environment" or "man--technology--environment" or simply "man--machine."

One of the General Military Department articles in the September issue of MYSL WOJSKOWA written by Col J. Zapiera, Ph D Eng, is actually dedicated to "Problems of Application of the Achievements in Ergonomics and Engineering Psychology to the Military." (Putting aside, these branches emerged and were developed in the first place to fulfill concrete military needs in connection with the necessity to increase the effectiveness of military combat systems and exploiting the latest technology primarily in the area of radar and automation.)

Development of engineering psychology is proceeding, generally speaking, in two directions which are characterized by two separate approaches: Machine oriented and human oriented. The machine oriented approach--proceeding from machine to man--is a typical one in an initial development step. It is based on adapting technological mechanisms to the various capabilities of the man who is being regarded as a simple link. In the second phase, these mechanisms are further subordinated to a deliberately oriented activity of the man.

The other approach--human oriented--proceeds in the other direction: from man to machine, and it is based on adapting man's various capabilities to technology.

The author, while underlining positive examples of utilization of the conclusions stemming from the ergonomic scientific research conducted primarily in military scientific centers and the Military Political Academy, calls attention to the still insufficient appreciation of engineering psychology's role among engineers, scientists and, what is rather strange, among military psychologists. Gains resulting from sound knowledge and application in real life of the principles developed by this [branch of] science, taking into account its requirements, could be markedly greater. This applies not only to the sphere of combat systems planning--by creating perfected combat tools, better adapted to the multifaceted psychophysical capabilities of the people who use and service them--but also to the sphere of inventiveness and rationalization as well as the technology of combat training.

In connection with the foregoing the author makes following assumptions:

1. Creating greater interest in the problematics of engineering psychology among commanders, military psychologists, engineers, professors and instructors;
2. Considering the possibility of introducing instructional programs in problematics of ergonomics and engineering psychology in certain military academies, principally in WAT [Military Technical Academy], WAM [Military Medical Academy] and ASC WP [General Staff Academy of Polish Armed Forces], also in higher officer's schools with a command-technological profile, in order to improve the quality of combat systems;

3. Determination of the need to form research-scientific cells for the study of solutions to ergonomics and engineering psychology problems for the benefit of the armed forces, in the sphere of improvement of quality of combat systems, temporarily within the framework of military academies, selected higher officer's schools and certain scientific-research institutions.

Another very current and interesting problem is treated by Col Dr S. Liszewski, in a voluminous article entitled: "Professional Suitability of the Graduates of Higher Officer's Schools." It is only to be regretted that the author gave it an overly theoretical and assumptive character (this is nowadays a very fashionable word), determining the need for and extent of the (generally well-known) requirements relating to the tasks and purposes of education while not saying nearly enough on how to fulfill these requirements. Nevertheless, I do recommend that not only those who have a professional interest in education become acquainted with this article.

An article by Col Dr L. Rulczyński: "Concerning Some Aspects of Construction of Automated Military Command Systems" is dedicated to matters which are current and actual. I believe it will make it possible to explain, at least in part, some misunderstandings and will straighten out the undeserved, though very popular, opinions pertaining to the essence of creating such a system in the military.

In the Organization and Information Department we find two articles, one pertaining to: "Problems of Armed Forces Development in Light of Systems Research Methodology" (Maj P. Sienkiewicz Dr Hab, Ph D Eng), the other: "Problems of Increasing the Effectiveness of Information Transformation Process in Military Computer Centers" (Lt Col T. Gicala MS Eng).

In the Economics Department, Dr J. Krzyżanowski writes about a current and very painful problem--the national power system--presenting its characteristics in light of emergency-defense requirements. One may learn from the text about some difficulties which burden the national power system and the resulting conclusions and directions toward improvement. From among other publications in this department I would like to draw attention to an article by Lt Col H. Szajewski Dr Hab, Ph D Eng, "Qualitative Aspects of Military Organization Improvement."

I believe that an extensive review on the subject of: "Breaching of the Enemy's Tactical Sphere During WW II" by Col Prof Dr A. Karpinski, printed in the Military History Department, will be of interest not only to military historians, similarly, an article by Lt Gen (Soviet) A.P. Paliy: "About Domination of the Ether" should be of interest not only to radioelectronics specialists.

#### About Electronic Warfare

An interesting article by Lt Cdr Kazimierz Jakubowski, MS Eng, also printed in MYSL WOJSKOWA and dedicated to naval electronic warfare which is described as composed of reconnaissance, counteractivity (or neutralization) and counter-counteractivity (defense). The author discusses in turn: action of naval forces during WW I and WW II, the Korean War, the Indochina conflict and the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. He discusses in detail the extensive development in ship techniques of electronic warfare which have occurred, in recent years, in Western countries--electronic warfare systems which are capable of detection, measurement, interception and analysis of



electromagnetic radiation from radio, radar, hydroacoustic systems and are also capable of active and passive jamming. Also described is the crosslinking of the electronic warfare technology with the ship's armament. There is no lack of information here concerning one of the most modern systems of radar jamming: the American automated AN/SIQ-32 system, introduced in 1979. The article by Kazimierz Jakubowski is entitled: "Electronic Warfare in the Naval Forces of Western Countries," see MYSL WOJSKOWA No 5/81.

[4 Nov 81 p 5]

[Review by staff writer SZA: "Radioelectronics in Combat"]

[Text] Armed conflict as a confrontation of opposing sides is a highly complicated phenomenon. Its course and results depend on many organizational undertakings, efficient exploitation of forces, equipment and materiel, effectiveness of weapons and other factors whose numbers are continuously growing in step with the development of civilization and scientific-technical progress. This interdependence could be observed clearly during the past decades. It was during that time that dynamic progress in many branches of science has been observed, most notable among them are nuclear physics, cybernetics, astronautics and electronics.

An article, dedicated to the latter, written by Lt Col Dr J. Soudowski: "Concerning the Principles of Electronic Warfare" was published in the October issue of MYSL WOJSKOWA.

The author enumerates the following as basic combat principles which determine combat effectiveness: purposefulness, activity, concentration of effort during decisive periods by those forces engaged in the main effort, effectiveness and surprise, continuity, timeliness and speed of action and also the coordination of electronic neutralization with the action of firing weapons and with other elements of electronic warfare. It would be difficult to consider any positive effects of radioelectronic [RE] activity against the enemy if we were not able to insure trouble-free working conditions for our own systems of command, reconnaissance and not be able to influence the means of combat. It is because of this that a comprehensive RE defense becomes a matter of extreme importance.

An achievement of RE defense undertakings does not exclude possibilities of disturbances of individual units and entire systems of RE. However, their meticulous execution, coupled with the destruction of the enemy's sources of jamming and reconnaissance may, to a great extent, limit the enemy's freedom of action and his possibilities in this respect. On the other hand, even the simplest violation of the fixed principles of use of our own RE potential creates intercept possibilities which lead to tracking of our own electromagnetic emitters and a (direct) use of RE means by the enemy, leading to a period of disruption of our command posts, communications centers and troop formation elements.

Therefore, a lack of care in the defense of our own RE elements and systems or their clumsy operation can greatly reduce the efforts of RE neutralization and may become decisive in the continuity of troop command structure and the effectiveness of weapons employment which, in consequence, will reflect negatively on the efficacy of accomplishment of the assigned tasks.

Additionally I would like to draw the attention of readers to an article by Col Dr L. Kuleszynski: "Radio Activities on an Operational Scale" which treats the very fundamental and current problem of the modern "offensive breakthrough." We regret, however, that the author gave his work a principally historical aspect (descriptions of the action of typical rapid action groups in WW II), allowing too little space for drawing conclusions from the WW II occurrences and their meaning under the current conditions.

The article contains a preponderance of basic questions and expressed doubts as compared to answers (or at least attempts at answers) or the position of the author (this could turn out to be a blessing in disguise because it forces the reader to draw his own conclusions). There is also a lack of synthesis from the questions and objections scattered throughout the article. This would help the reader to take a holistic view of the problem tackled and to better understand the author's conclusions.

Nevertheless, I do recommend the article because it forms--in my opinion--suitable material which inspires further discussion and deliberations on this currently pressing problem and there are sufficient questions posed there to demand an answer.

Other publications in the General Military Department include: "Systems of Passing From Attack to Defense by a Tactical Combined Arms Team" (Maj K. Skolowski); "Some Problems of Contemporary Defense" (Col Dr A. Prokop); "Interference Detachment" (Col Dipl [Ret] Z. Wotrucki); "Problems of Camouflage Prior to Multiaspected Reconnaissance" (Col J. Sanecki, Ph D Eng, Dr Hab and Lt Col J. Stepniak MS Eng); "New Role of Mine Barriers and Demolitions in Defense Activities" (MS Eng J. Garstka) and "The Geneva Accords 1980, Concerning Prohibitions and Limitations in Use of Some Conventional Weapons" (Col Dr M. Fleming and Col Dr A. Kulawiec).

In the Organization and Information Department there is an article deserving your attention: "Problems of the Innovation and Inventiveness Movement Within the Military Executive Organs" (Col M. Gnilka, MS Eng); also "Review and Evaluation of Actual Methods and Techniques Used in Initiation and Testing of Programs" (Maj Dr J. Haszka and Lt [Navy] W. Kubicki BS Eng); "Directions in the Development of Information Systems (SI) and Projection Methods" (Lt Col J. Iwaniak BS Eng).

The following publications are in the Economics Department: "Economics of Defense and Their Significance Under Present Conditions" (Col Dr J. Dzierzek) and "Economics Aspects of Ammunition Management" (Lt Col Z. Gorniak Ph D Eng).

Discussions and articles from publications of friendly armies are treated in: "Evolution of Antitank Combat," "On the Subject of the Continuous Growth of Effort During Attack" and "Temporary Duty of Academy Students in Military Units."

The issue ends with reviews and discussions of military publications.

## BRIEFS

**YOUTH DEMONSTRATE**--An angry crowd of approximately 200 young people gathered on Sunday evening in front of the building in Mokotowska Street in Warsaw occupied by the NSZZ Solidarity Mazowian Region authorities. The ZOMO [Citizens Militia Mechanized Reserve] unit that was blockading the street was the target of abusive jeers from the crowd. Exercising great restraint and following numerous appeals--in the name of the law--for the crowd to disperse, law enforcement forces broke up the demonstration several times. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6] 11813

**CONGRESS SUSPENDED**--In connection with the declaration of martial law it is reported that the Polish Culture Congress now underway in Warsaw will be suspended. The sponsors of this congress will be permitted to reconvene its proceedings after the situation in the country has been normalized. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6] 11813

**TORUN PZPR PLENUM**--On 12 December a plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee was held in Torun that was devoted to a discussion of the management of old housing stock. Representatives of the Ministry of the Construction and Building Materials Industries and the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy, and Environmental Protection took part in these proceedings, which were presided over by the first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, Edmund Hosa. In view of the fact that similar problems exist within their own jurisdictions this plenum was also attended by representatives of local and voivodship-level party branch organizations from Malverek, Bydgoszcz, Krakow, Lublin, and Wloclawek. Careful advance preparations were made for this plenary session. The materials prepared for this session by the Torun voivoda and the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee were the subject of consultations held with tenants self-management bodies, housing and local government administrations, enterprises engaged in maintenance-restoration work, and members of the scientific-technical professions. Old housing stock--a national resource that has been built up over the years--should be treated on an equal par with new housing construction. The plenum proceedings were conducted in this spirit, and it was in this spirit also that it formulated its resolution. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6] 11813

**COMMITTEE MEETS**--The next regularly scheduled meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Science and Education Committee was held on 12 December under the chairmanship of Central Committee Politburo member professor, Dr Tadeusz Potrebki. The agenda of this meeting focused mainly on problems related to the role of science and the

functions to be performed by scientific institutions and establishments under conditions mandated by the national economic reform. The participants in the meeting paid special attention to the issue of making provisions for the optimal expenditure of funds allocated by the state for the advancement of science and technological progress. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6] 11813

RAKOWSKI MEETS--On 12 December deputy premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met with members of the PZPR POP in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy. The meeting was attended by minister Jerzy Wojtecki. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6] 11813

MOKRZYSZCZAK IN KETRZYN--With the participation of alternate Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyrzczak a meeting was held on 12 December in Ketrzyn attended by members of the party and economic aktiv from this town and several neighboring gminas. The meeting was devoted to a discussion of critical problems affecting the nation's sociopolitical and economic life. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6] 11813

BARCIKOWSKI IN CZESTOCHOWA--On 12 December Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski met with a group representing the party aktiv at the Boleslaw Bierut Iron and Steelworks in Czestochowa. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6] 11813

SAVINGS INTEREST RAISED--The Food Economy Bank [BGZ] reports that as of 1 January 1982 higher interest rates will be paid on all types of savings deposits paid into passbook savings accounts and combination saving-checking accounts with cooperative banks. Interest paid on demand deposits will go up from 4 to 6 percent; interest paid on deposits in combination saving-checking accounts will go up from 4 to 7 percent, and interest on passbook 3-year time deposits will go up from 8 to 13 percent. At the same time, the BGZ reports that the level of savings deposits on account with cooperative banks now amounts to Zl 117 billion. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 6]

11813

CSO: 2600/166



DECREE REGULATES USE OF RADIO TRANSMITTERS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 92, 27 Nov 81 pp 2-3

[Decree of the Council of State Regarding Radio Transmitters]

[Text] The Council of State of Romania decrees:

Article 1. The possession, construction, installation, testing, or use of radio transmitters is allowed only with the authorization, issued according to law, by the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications (MTT).

The provisions of article 1 do not apply to radio transmitters belonging to the armed forces of Romania, or to patriotic guards.

Article 2. Records of radio transmitters whose possession, construction, installation, testing or use is authorized, are devised and maintained by MTT.

Records of radio transmitters belonging to the armed forces of Romania or to patriotic guards, are devised and maintained by the Ministry of National Defense (MAN) or by the Ministry of the Interior, according to case.

Article 3. The MTT communicates to the Ministry of the Interior-Department of State Security (MIDSS), the operating characteristics of authorized radio transmitters, as well as modifications that have been made and approved subsequent to the issuance of the authorization, in accordance to the information presented in the appendix (the appendix will be provided to interested institutions) to the present decree. The communication will be made at least five days before the authorization becomes effective, or before approval of the modifications to the operating characteristics of radio transmitters stipulated in the authorization.

Article 4. The MTT communicates to MIDSS the operating characteristics of radio transmitters for which it maintains records, as well as modifications to these characteristics, in accordance with the information in the appendix to the present decree. The communication will be made at least five days before the radio transmitters are placed in operation, or before the modifications are made to their operating characteristics.

In urgent cases, the communication stipulated in paragraph 1 can be made in less than five days, but no later than 48 hours before the radio transmitters are placed in operation, or before their operating characteristics are modified.

Article 5. The MTT exercises control over the manner in which are respected the legal provisions regarding the operation of radio transmitters subject to authorization.

In fulfilling its functions according to the law, MIDSS exercises control over the respect for legal provisions regarding the operation of all radio transmitters.

Article 6. The following deeds are considered as infractions and are punished with prison terms of three months to two years:

- a) Possession, construction, installation, testing, or use of radio transmitters, as well as modifications to their operating characteristics, except for those belonging to the armed forces of Romania, without the authorization of the MTT;
- b) Use of radio transmitters belonging to the armed forces of Romania, without communicating to MIDSS the operating characteristics or modifications of these radio transmitters.

In the situations stipulated under letter a), the radio transmitters are sealed for confiscation, or other measures are taken.

Article 7. The following deeds are considered contraventions and are sanctioned with fines of 1000 to 3000 lei:

- a) Refusal on the part of physical or legal persons, who under the conditions of the present decree possess, build, install, test, or use radio transmitters, to subject themselves to the control exercised by the organs stipulated in article 5;
- b) Failure to communicate to MIDSS the operating characteristics of authorized radio transmitters, or the modifications approved and performed on these transmitters;
- c) The wilfull communication to MIDSS, of inaccurate or incomplete information regarding the operating characteristics of radio transmitters, or the modifications performed on these characteristics.

Article 8. The contraventions stipulated in article 7 letter a), are noted by persons specially empowered by MTT and MIDSS.

The contraventions stipulated in article 7 letters b) and c), are noted only by persons specially empowered by MIDSS.

The agents who note the contraventions also apply sanctions.

In military units of MAN, determinations of the contraventions stipulated in article 7, and the application of sanctions for these contraventions, are carried out by officers specially empowered by that ministry, on the basis of their own observations, or upon notification from control organs of the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 9. Appeals against contravention reports can be made within 15 days from the date of communication.

Appeals against reports are resolved by the manager of the organ to which the observing agent belongs, or by another hierarchically superior staff member, empowered by the leader of the organ.

When a contravention is observed by a person specially empowered within MIDSS or MAN, the appeal is resolved by the commander of the unit to which the observer belongs.

Article 10. The provisions of articles 8 and 9 are complemented with the provisions of Law No 32/1968, regarding the determination and sanctioning of contraventions, to the extent to which the present decree does not stipulate otherwise.

Article 11. Decree No 544/1969 regarding the organization of records for radio broadcasting stations, and the Decision of the Council of Ministers No 2284/1969 to determine and sanction contraventions or regulations regarding records for radio broadcasting stations, as well as any other provisions to the contrary, are abrogated.

Nicolae Ceausescu  
Chairman of the Socialist Republic Romania

Bucharest, 26 November 1981  
No 340

11,023  
CSO 2700/117

VUKMANOVIC-TEMPO'S HISTORICAL STATEMENTS DISPUTED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 17 Dec 81 p 6

[Article by Ugljesa Danilovic: "Don't Create Morsels for the Petit Bourgeois"]

[Text] ILLUSTROVANA POLITIKA, with regard to the recent, lengthy presentation of Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo in Belgrade, published a letter written by Ugljesa Danilovic, a member of the Council of the Federation. We present the text of the letter in its entirety:

In your newspaper on November 17, 1981 a review of the presentation given by Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo in the Petar Kocic Library in Belgrade was published.

In the interests of historical truth and in order to provide your readers with more complete information, I feel obliged, as a participant in the National Liberation War and the revolution to give my own view of some of the events and some of the claims presented by Tempo on this occasion. I will limit myself only to those questions which relate to the events which took place during our armed revolution.

In Tempo's presentation, we encounter some of the old theses and evaluations from his earlier articles and books, but new ones also appear.

Due to limited space and with respect to the patience of your readers, I will try to be as brief as possible, because a more serious and substantial discussion about the questions Tempo has brought up on this occasion should be carried out in another manner and by other means--in historical journals, scientific institutes, and so on.

In his presentations, Tempo remains faithful to his characteristic polemical style and to his accounts including all that which makes him reproachful in his opinion and evaluations of people and events from the revolution and contemporary social trends in our country. He justifies his manner, especially when he is concerned with events which took place during the revolution, by the statement that none of us soldiers are saints, and that it should not be considered a disaster when we have revealed the truth about our dishonorable acts during the war. To tell the truth, Tempo only sees faults in others, and his criticism of himself amounts only to the statement that he is not a saint.



Personal errors, of which there certainly were a number, were not such an essential and characteristic part of the essence of our revolution and its history, and one might well ask what purposes are served by such a stubborn insistence on presenting them. It is not a matter of needing to hide or suppress something, but we old revolutionaries should not create morsels from all this for the tastes and the gossiping of the *petit bourgeois*. In writing about and evaluating the events and the people from the revolution, one should remain faithful to those ethical and universal human virtues which helped us to be victorious in the revolution.

Tempo continually sees himself as a fighter for historical truth, as an opponent of "tailoring history" and the like. Fine. We all should believe in this. But, is he really the only fighter for this truth, and from whom is he defending this truth? Is it from us revolutionaries or from the counterfeiters of history? One arrives at historical truth by using scientific methods in which documents and the frequently different views and recollections of the participants of the historical events are perused and not on the basis of one's own evaluations and observations, which is, for the most part, Tempo's method of "seeking historical truth." For this reason the courage and immodesty of Tempo considers that only Comrade Tito can give an evaluation concerning the writing of Tempo's memoirs, "and no one else." As if Comrade Tito did not have more important and more responsible things to do than read our writings.

I will now turn to some of Tempo's statements and evaluations presented in the Petar Kocić Library. Quoting Tempo: "Every commanding officer and commandant who was in our war and who now writes some of his memoirs is including to ascribe to himself in the struggle with the enemy greater merit, more killed Germans, fewer losses on his side, etc. The real investigator must then search through everything thoroughly." In the context of such statements, without going into their evaluation, it would be difficult for a reader not to wonder what sort of "thorough searching" and appraisal an author is going through who says: "The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia sent me to Bosnia to organize an armed uprising... I organized a meeting with the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Bosnia..." (emphasis by the author) "I no longer had enough people to defend the Muslim and Croatian villages..." "I am ordering..." etc. It is not difficult to come to the conclusion that here we are concerned not only with the fact that he is overrating his own role in the revolution, but also with something which is much more serious; that is the underestimation and distortion of the role of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, its organizations and cadres, the partisan units and their commanders. This is how Comrade Tempo pictures his relations and behavior with the cadres and soldiers in the war of liberation.

Tempo again brings up the question of the date that the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Bosnia and Hercegovina was held in which resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia from July 4 were elaborated, and he maintains that the meeting of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Bosnia and Hercegovina was held on July 7 and not on the 13th, as "some historians" from Bosnia claim.

On one other occasion in a conversation with friends who had collected the memoirs of revolutionaries (see Tempo's memoirs, published in Contributions to History, Sarajevo, 1968 No 4 pp 651-661), Tempo said about the date of that meeting: "I know that I was

detained in Belgrade in all three to four days after this meeting (he refers to the meeting of July 4-U.D.). For me to hand over the press to Ivan Milutinovic and to produce the identity card I needed a day or two, so that at the most I remained in Belgrade three or four days. The next day, after my arrival in Sarajevo, the meeting was organized" (he refers to the meeting of the Provincial Committee).

I attended that meeting. I do not remember the exact date. For the rebellion and for history it is not all that important whether this meeting was held six days earlier or later.

Tempo says that he does not like dates: they why does he now stubbornly insist that the meeting of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Bosnia and Herzegovina was held on July 7? What is he trying to prove by this? Perhaps he wants to create the impression that he was incredibly quick and expeditious in that in only two days (July 5 and 6) he was able, in the face of all of his party dealings and affairs in Belgrade, to provide an identity card and permit for crossing into the Independent State of Croatia, that is, the other occupied zone; to travel by a slow, narrow-gauge train with innumerable interruptions and holdups due to war-time conditions, to arrive on July 7 in Sarajevo and to organize immediately, the same day, a meeting of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

And before the meeting it was necessary by means of a password to connect up with the party, to find a secure apartment where the meeting could be held, and to inform all the members of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Bosnia and Herzegovina about all of this, which was not a simple task considering that these acts were illegal. And so if one speaks of Tempo's tempo, there is indeed much to say.

In his remarks and in his writing, Tempo is not able to free himself from tactless and underestimating references about some people and events about which he is discussing. He often cannot separate the essential from the peripheral and the secondary. For example, when he is talking about rebellious Romania he repeats the old story about soldiers who wear cockades and who belong to a partisan detachment, he talks about companies in which there are no commissars or communists, and the like. Now he rounds out his evaluations about the partisans in Romania with the formulation that they were "not much of an army that belonged to no one." However, immediately after this he contradicts himself with the assertion that the commanders of this army, when he told them that they would join the Chetniks if they did not wear the five-point star on their caps, responded: "We are only with Cica, and no one else. That major is fighting for the old Yugoslavia, and Cica is fighting for the new, but we will not wear the five-point star." According to these statements, this army belonged not to "no one" but to someone.

It is understandable that in the first few days of the uprising there were confused people who wore various designations on their caps and who could not point to the essential difference between us and the Chetniks, but this was not characteristic of the partisan army, rather a secondary and ephemeral phenomenon.

The fact that the soldiers wanted to fight for the new Yugoslavia is, of course, more important than the designation on their caps. I remember this "incident" with the cockades quite well. I was then in Podromania in the Provincial Committee. Present were Iso Jovanovic, Cica, Pavle Goranin, Tempo, and myself. Tempo had just come in from Rogatica and spoke about this "incident." However, my recollection of it differs from his to a large extent. It was not a matter of four battalions but of one or two companies, and in these companies they did not all wear cockades, but only a few individuals. (These are the cockades of the old Yugoslavia army and not of the Chetniks). And along with this it should be added that on this occasion Tempo was euphoric, and that he rudely attacked Cica and Pavle because there were not any party organizations in the companies, as if this could be accomplished in a month or two in such a large rebel army. Iso and I did not agree with this attack. Does it make any sense that now Tempo and I are competing over whose memory is more accurate?

As for Slavisa Vajnere Cica, the legendary partisan commander, Tempo says: "...a Czech Jew...an engineer, educated, tall, elegant, with an enormous black beard," and fails to say that Slavisa was a member of the Party and an eminent party worker in Sarajevo before the war. Along with the above, he says: "All the people in Romania thought that he was actually Prince Djordje Karadjordjevic..." One gets the impression that Comrade Tempo is not aware of what he has really said with this sentence. Does not the logical conclusion follow from this that those in Romania went into the rebellion with the myth of Karadjordjevic? And does he know that the process of political education of the Serbian inhabitants in Bosnia and Hercegovina, and the emancipation from the Serbian nationalistic, dynastic myths had begun long before the uprising, under the influence and the activity of communists and progressive youth, as well as of the opposition democratic movement in the country? In Romania, the party organization existed and functioned before the war, and local communists, together with those who had come from Sarajevo, were organizers of the uprising. People from Romania were aware of this. This is the first time I have heard that someone in Romania thought that Cica was Prince Djordje. And if some backward person thinks this, is it not rather rude and insulting to the aware partisan soldiers and to all the people in insurgent Romania to write in such a politically uninformed and backward manner?

As if to "mitigate" the effect of his "evaluations" concerning the development of the uprising in Bosnia and Hercegovina, Tempo falls into other contradictions and absurdities. How else could one comprehend the following excerpt from Tempo's text: "It was easy to start an uprising in Crna Gora, in every village there were 10-15 communists, and 20 members of the Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia. But again we quickly fled from Crna Gora. And where did we go to? To different places in Bosnia. And here we survived." It is not known whether there were that many communists and members of the Communist Youth in every village in any part of our country when the Party's activities were illegal. And if we suppose that it was the case in Crna Gora, because "it was easy to start an uprising," the question arises as to what influence these party organizations could have had when the partisans so "quickly fled from their territory." I think that further commentary would be superfluous. Tempo makes the claim that some documents from the People's Liberation Struggle have allegedly been concealed, locked up, and even destroyed by some individuals, because these documents attest to their "mistakes, poor performances, and errors," during the war. From the text it is apparent that this refers to documents from the year 1941. According to Tempo, some reports of his "disappeared," in which he "precisely described the situation in Bosnia in the first year of the war."

During my party and military duty I had the opportunity to inspect fully all the important documents which concerned the uprising in Bosnia and Hercegovina. I know nothing about these documents for which Tempo "searches." I know that a part of the party and military archives disappeared during the bombing of Srednje, and later at Tuzla. However, when such serious charges and suspicions are brought up in connection with the documents, the procedure should be to say exactly to whom and for what they are referring. Without such a concrete approach, making these general assertions is not far from insulting and slandering the party cadres and participants of the People's Liberation Struggle. And finally, I do not know what these new "mistakes" are that would be revealed in the "documents which have disappeared," about which Tempo has not yet spoken or written in a more detailed manner.

On the other hand, Tempo's approach to those documents which seem to him to be unfavorable regarding himself is interesting. Of primary interest here are the documents in which the preparations for the attack on Sarajevo are discussed, and in which Comrade Tito made remarks concerning the plans which he called "unrealistic" and "adventuristic." Tempo does not dispute the existence of these documents, but he does dispute their historical veracity. He explains it as if this was a matter of the military ruse which was necessary to panic the Chetniks and that it was successful in this intention. It is not clear how it is that the Chetniks panicked because of the partisan attack, not at them but at their enemy in Sarajevo, when this would have given them the ideal opportunity to sneak into the city on the backs of the partisans, to plunder and kill as they had done like vultures every other time they had had the chance.

I was not in Romania at the time and cannot be a reliable witness concerning this matter. However, from a letter written by the commander of the Romania partisan detachment on December 22, 1941, which informed the Headquarters of the Crna Gora People's Liberation Movement of the detachment in Metaljea, and which was signed by Cica, it is quite obvious that help was being requested from the Crna Gora partisans, not only in order to wipe out the influence of the Chetniks, but also in order to further the operation of emancipating Sarajevo. In the letter, among other things, is this statement: "This is especially important because these companies must be able to enter Sarajevo where they would insure order and prevent all the looting." (Collection of Documents and Information About the People's Liberation War, Vol IV, Book 2, p 212).

In addition to this, there also exists the memoirs of the surviving members of the Local Committee for Sarajevo which tell how the Committee was informed about the forthcoming partisan actions in Sarajevo and state that they had already made in this regard, some preparations in the city. Similar recollections also live in other war-time cadres from eastern Bosnia.

One hopes it is not the case that it was necessary to deceive comrades in Crna Gora and eastern Bosnia, as well as the party organization in Sarajevo, with this military ruse. All of this indicates a certain manipulation of the documents whose significance and importance Tempo stresses so many times.



On this occasion, Tempo gave his evaluation as well of the party conference in Ivancici, which was held at the beginning of January in 1942. He spoke about this in his memoirs, published in 1968 in Contributions of the Institute for Historical Studies in Sarajevo (see Contributions...No 4, p 657). At that time he said:

"I would evaluate the conference in Ivancici as one of the most important conferences in the course of our struggle. It was held after the conference in Krupnji and it established a much broader platform for the People's Liberation Struggle. Its significance and its resolutions came from this. Consequently, the results of this conference were reflected in the conception of the creation of a volunteer army in addition to the partisan army, whose use would later, in 1942, come to its full manifestation."

And now here is what he says about the same historic event: "Now we were in such a state of euphoria that every wartime conference was hailed as historic and portentous. There was one conference in Ivancici at the beginning of 1942 which some historians in Bosnia want to proclaim as being extremely important, because allegedly at this conference, the position was taken that the People's Liberation Struggle was moving into the second phase, and that an open class struggle against the kulaks and the typical wealthy villagers should now begin." One might well ask why, on this occasion, does Tempo give a completely opposite evaluation of the conference in Ivancici.

For these reasons, the party leadership in Bosnia and Hercegovina, revolutionaries, and historians consider the conference in Ivancici to be very important and momentous. The observance of the 40th anniversary of this conference will provide an opportunity to analyze on a broader and deeper level the political and military conditions in which it took place as well as the significance of its conclusions.

In conclusion, when we discuss and write at present about what happened 40 years ago, it is not surprising that there are disagreements, as well as different opinions and approaches. It is natural that many of our recollections have faded and disappeared. But if we want to be of assistance to historians who are writing and who will write about our revolution and if we want to remain faithful to the revolution, we must free ourselves from superficiality and improvisation, as well as from the contradictions in our recollections which occur from time to time, and show greater tolerance and respect to others and to different opinions; we must be principled and constructive, because only in this type of environment can our discussions be useful and fruitful.

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